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THE MEANING OF THE WORD 神

BY

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PREFACE.

This treatise, written to prove that 神 is generic for god, and should be translated god rather than spirit, was originally printed in the Chinese Recorder. It is now reprinted, not in the spirit of controversy, or to revive dead issues, but simply that a work on which the author spent such a vast amount of research be not lost to the world. There are some who still wish to study the subject.

The Meaning of the Word 神.*

BY REV. C. W. MATEER, D.D., LL.D.

INTRODUCTION.

THE question concerning the terms for God and Spirit in Chinese has two distinct aspects, the one theological, the other philological. The theological aspect has chiefly to do with the term *Shangti* 上帝, and turns on the question whether or not its use involves any complication with idolatry. The philological aspect has chiefly to do with the term *Shên* 神, and turns on the question whether it means *god*, or *spirit*. The object of the present essay is to discuss the latter question, and, if possible, contribute the data which may lead to its settlement.

The protracted discussions of past years may be regarded as clearly showing two things. First, that either the word god, or the word spirit, is wanting in the Chinese language. If words for each of these ideas existed ready to hand, it is not credible that so intelligent a body of men as are the Protestant missionaries in China, should have failed to discover them. Or, secondly, the term *Shên* 神 must have something anomalous about it, that it has thus puzzled the whole body of missionaries for so many years. Missionaries have gone to nearly every heathen nation on the face of the earth, and have used the languages of these nations to teach them Christianity and to translate the Bible, but nowhere, save in China, have they found any serious difficulty in deciding on the proper word to use for God. The word *Shên* doubtless means either *god* or *spirit*. The question is, which does it mean? It is in the highest degree improbable that it means both god and spirit, in the true and proper sense of these words. It has been said that in some of the barbarous languages of the South Sea Islands the same word is used in both these senses. Whether or not this be strictly true, is an open question. But in a cultivated language like the Chinese, such an anomaly is scarcely credible. Such a usage could not exist without the one word becoming, in fact, two distinct words. There

* This essay, the first part of which is printed herewith, was begun over a score of years ago; the subject being suggested by the discussions then going on. The work was kept in hand, as time offered, for a number of years. An extensive search was made in Chinese literature, and over thirteen thousand illustrations of the use of *Shên* were collated and indexed. The pressure of other duties compelled the author to lay the work aside uncompleted, and so it has remained until this time. The essay is not written in a controversial spirit, but rather to determine if possible by an exhaustive examination of its uses, the real meaning of the word *Shên*. The spirit of controversy has happily subsided, but the need of information and investigation has not ceased.

is no evidence, however, that the word *Shên* has two distinct and independent senses. It is not read in two ways, as are many words with double meanings, nor do Chinese dictionaries classify its meanings under two heads. Even if it had these two meanings, it would be necessary to decide which is the primary and more natural one, and adopt it in Christian usage. Christianity cannot use one word for both these ideas. The attempt to do this would lead to endless confusion and embarrassment, both in translating the Bible and in teaching its doctrines. How in this case could we express such fundamental ideas as "God is a Spirit," or "the Spirit of God," etc.? Christianity must have *both* these words and have them in such form that they can be clearly distinguished.

The great obstacle to union in the use of the terms for God and Spirit, is the different views taken of the meanings of the word *Shên*. The presence of this term in any proposed basis of agreement is fatal to its success. One man understands it to mean God, and so uses it, and another understands it to mean spirit, and so uses it. Between these there can be no accommodation, for no man is willing to use a word in a sense which he does not believe it possesses, and which is, at the same time, inconsistent with the sense which he believes it *does* possess. Neither can any basis of agreement exclude this term, for manifestly it is the most conspicuous and important word in the religious vocabulary of the Chinese, and as such can by no means be entirely rejected.

Much has been said, from time to time, as to whether the term *Shên* can be "Christianized for God." This, however, is not the fundamental aspect of the question. The first thing to consider is, does *Shên* mean god, or does it not? If it does not, then why talk of Christianizing it for God? If it does mean god, and is *the* word of the language which conveys the idea of divinity, then why should there be any serious question as to the possibility or propriety of Christianizing it? It is indeed true that *Shên* is somewhat handicapped by the fact that the Chinese language has no regular plural form, or any article by which the one can be distinguished from the many. The difficulty, however, does not lie in the meaning of the word, but in the imperfection of the language—a difficulty that is much more felt by foreigners than by Chinese. I cannot but regard it as a matter of the very highest importance that in giving Christianity to the Chinese, we should designate the true God by that word in their language which means god. And being profoundly convinced that *Shên* conveys to the Chinese mind the same fundamental idea that θεος did to the Greeks, and *deus* to the Romans, and that god did to our own heathen ancestors, I have felt

constrained to lay before the public the results of an exhaustive examination of the term *Shên*.

DEFINITION OF TERMS.

The question concerning the meaning of the term *Shên* lies between the words *god* and *spirit*.* It is therefore of prime importance that we keep clearly in mind what is meant by each of these words. The two words, god and spirit, are closely connected. All nations have believed their gods to be spirits, not necessarily spirits without bodies. Hence to all objects of worship the two terms are equally applicable, and on this account their meanings are liable to be confused. Let us then both *define* and *distinguish* them. It should first be noted, however, that since the dawn of Chinese history, when *Shun* upon ascending the throne offered sacrifices to "*Shangti*, to the powers of nature, and to the hundred *Shên*," the Chinese have been *polytheists;* hence it is vain to expect that their word "god" should answer to the Christian and monotheistic word God ; and in point of fact no one has ever maintained this concerning the word *Shên*. We are therefore quite justified in taking, not the definition of the Christian word God, but rather the ground idea of divinity as it exists in the minds of polytheists, and which is common to all heathen nations.

The fundamental idea of divinity is that of *an intelligent being having superhuman power over nature and authority to reward and punish men*, and who is therefore regarded as a proper object of religious worship. In general, any being who is worshipped is a god.

The fundamental idea of spirit, or a spirit, is that of *an intelligent being without form or bodily shape*. Christianity has defined a spirit to be immaterial, but heathenism has never advanced further than invisibility, or the absence of bodily form.† Spirits have indeed other attributes, differing in different cases, such as power, wisdom, knowledge goodness, wickedness, immortality, etc. Such attributes however are accidental, not fundamental and distinctive, as are those of *intelligence* and *invisibility*.

Comparing the two words we see that *god* expresses rank in the scale of existence, while *spirit* expresses the mode of existence; to be a *god*, is to have certain prerogatives and powers; to be a

*The fact stated is sufficiently evidenced by the published writings of the leaders of both sides in the discussions of former years. Bishop Boone, in his essays, maintained that *Shên* meant God properly and generically, and Bishop Russell and Dr. Happer followed in the same line. On the other hand, Dr. Legge and Dr. Medhurst contended that *Shên* meant spirit properly and generically, and uniformly so rendered it in their translations from Chinese into English. Later, Dr. Chalmers, in his "Questions of Terms, etc.," undertakes to show that *Shên* corresponds with the English word *spirit* throughout almost the whole range of its uses.

†In giving this definition, I am not to be understood as either affirming or denying that the Chinese have in their language a generic word for spirit. I am here simply defining the word spirit as it is understood in a language which *has* this generic idea, and which idea it has been contended the word *Shên* contains.

spirit, is to have intelligence without visible form. Metaphorical and figurative senses have not been included in the above definitions, because the question turns primarily on the words god and spirit, used *generically*, of living beings. The figurative sense of a word is secondary, and depends on the primary sense. It may throw light on the word indirectly, but is not to be included as a part of the primary meaning. For the correctness of these definitions and distinctions, appeal is made to general usage, and to the authority of lexicographers and writers on theology and history. According to its common acceptation, the word *god* has in it two primary ideas, and a third proceeding necessarily from them. The primary ideas are power over nature and authority over men; and that which proceeds from these, and is based upon them, is worship. History shows that all heathen nations have attributed to their gods superhuman power over nature, regarding them as able to send thunder and lightning, wind and rain, to overturn mountains, cause light and darkness, famine and fruitful seasons, etc. They have also regarded them as the judges of men's actions, having authority to bestow rewards and punishments, happiness and misery. And beings supposed to have these attributes, all heathen nations have called gods, and have worshipped. *A worshipped being* is a correct, though not an exhaustive, definition of a god, for men will not worship a being who is not supposed to be able to grant the petitions they offer. Webster's definition fully accords with these ideas, viz.: "An object of worship, a being conceived of as possessing divine power, and to be propitiated by sacrifices, worship, etc." He also defines polytheism as "the doctrine of a plurality of gods, or invisible beings superior to men, and having an agency in the government of the world." Cudworth in his Intellectual System, defines god, according to the sense of pagan theists, to be "An understanding being superior to men, not originally derived from senseless matter, and looked on as an object for men's religious worship." Mosheim says: "In my opinion he alone believes in a plurality of gods, who not only admits the existence of many beings more powerful, more noble, and more excellent than mankind, but inculcates that men ought to pay a certain homage and offer sacrifices to these beings." These authorities fully sustain the correctness of the definition given above.

The word spirit in its literal and personal sense includes three ideas: first, life; second, intelligence; and third, invisibility. These three things are essential—*these and no more*. Any invisible intelligent living being is a spirit. Webster defines spirit as "Life, or living substance, considered independently of corporeal existence;

an intelligence conceived of apart from any physical organization or embodiment.*

Johnston, quoting Locke, defines spirit as "an immaterial substance, an intellectual being." Our Saviour gives expression to the universal consciousness of mankind when he says, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." Spirit is often used of the human soul. Two of Webster's definitions refer to this use. It does not follow, however, that soul and spirit are synonymous terms. The one is specific, the other generic. A soul is *human* spirit. Webster also gives a number of metaphorical and figurative senses to the word spirit. These, however, do not directly concern the present question, which is not whether certain metaphorical uses of the word spirit in English do or do not correspond to certain metaphorical uses of the word *Shên* in Chinese, but whether the primary and generic sense of the word *Shên* corresponds to the primary and generic sense of the word spirit. It should be specially noted that the word spirit is strictly generic and simple, as is the Christian use of its Greek and Latin prototypes *pneuma* and *spiritus*. It means simply a *living*, *invisible intelligence*, and *nothing more*. It predicates nothing of moral character. A spirit may be good or bad, and be none the less a spirit. It predicates nothing of power. A spirit may be weak and impotent, or it may be almighty, and be none the less a spirit. It predicates nothing of rank or dignity. A spirit may be the highest living being in the universe, or the lowest, and be none the less a spirit. Spirit has in it the idea of intelligence, but it predicates nothing of the *degree* of that intelligence. The lowest degree of intelligence satisfies the demands of the word spirit just as well as the highest. Hence it is that although gods, angels, devils, and the souls of men and beasts are all spirits, yet neither god, angel, devil, nor soul, can by any proper use of language be said to mean *spirit*. All will allow, I think, that the above authorities and analysis fully sustain the definition given of the term spirit.

CHINESE AUTHORITIES.

The authority in this investigation is the whole literature and language of the Chinese people. The question being the meaning of a word, no preference should be given to one book over another. Religion, philosophy, history, poetry, and fiction, are all of equal authority. I say *language* as well as literature, for there is no

*Originally the word spirit meant simply breath, and its use to signify a living being is, strictly speaking, a metaphor. This original sense is now almost or quite obsolete in English. The metaphorical or derived sense has quite taken its place, and become, in fact, the proper and literal meaning, insomuch that a considerable number of new metaphorical senses are built upon it as a primary. On this account, I have not noted Webster's first two definitions, which refer to the original literal meaning.

reason why the language of common life, especially the proverbs and popular sayings of the people, should not be just as good authority, on such a question as this, as the purest classic. In fact, if we consider the nature of the inquiry, there is good reason to assume that the common usage of the people is of *more* weight than the abstractions of philosophers ; the spontaneous language of ordinary life, than the artificial *Wĕn-li* of the classics. If there be any word which belongs to the people, it is the word *god*. I shall, therefore, feel free to cite as pertinent to this question every kind and class of Chinese literature, together with well known proverbs and common sayings of the people.

DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

CLASSIFICATION OF USES OF THE WORD SHÊN.

In order to get a satisfactory view of the meaning of the word now under consideration, it will be necessary to classify its uses and examine them separately in order. It will be found that it has the *three* following uses, which form a classification at once natural and comprehensive.

I. *It is used in a personal sense of the numerous invisible beings worshipped by the Chinese.*

II. *It is used in an impersonal sense of the divine soul or mind of the universe.*

III. *It is used in a semi-personal sense of the souls of men and beasts.*

Of these three, the first is the original and primary sense ; the other two are derivative and secondary. Besides these there are a number of metaphorical and figurative senses, all of which are based upon, and derive their significance from, one or other of these.

I propose to consider these three senses in order.

I.

SHÊN USED OF INVISIBLE BEINGS.

In determining the meaning of *Shên*, its use as applied to invisible beings is of prime importance. Upon it the question of meaning *really* turns. The other uses have a relative importance, and are essential to a full discussion of the meaning of the word, but in *this* usage lies the primary idea of the word, which virtually involves and carries with it all secondary ideas. On this account, I propose to give special attention to this first division, and shall ask the reader's indulgence while I draw out in detail the superabundant proof that *Shên*, when applied to invisible personal beings, means *god* and not *spirit*. It is not felt that all, or even half of the following proofs are really *needed* to establish this position; but, because the

opposite opinion has been supported by influential names, and many have strong preconceived ideas which are hard to overcome, I have thought it worth while to draw out all these different proofs in order to show how various and abundant is the evidence at command. The whole question lies between the words *god* and *spirit*, and I propose to conduct the examination with this idea distinctly in view. Both words have been carefully defined, and to these definitions I shall strive to adhere.

I. WORSHIP.

That Shên means god and not spirit, is shown by the fact that it is the common term by which the various beings worshipped by the Chinese are known, and is the only word in the language which classifies them as such.

That all the gods which the Chinese worship are, in a *general way*, called *Shên*, is a fact patent to all who are acquainted with their religious language and ideas. It is fully as comprehensive in this respect as was *theos* in Greek, or *deus* in Latin. The Greeks had demons, and nymphs, and satyrs, and furies, to all of which, upon occasion, the term *theos* was applied. The Romans had fauns, and muses, and furies, to of all which the term *deus* was applied. The Chinese have *Ti* (帝) and *Chih* (祇) and *Kwei* (鬼) and *Fu* (佛), all of which they worship, and to all of which, upon occasion, the term *Shên* is applied. The proof that all these classes of worshipped beings are called *Shên* is so abundant in Chinese books, and in the common usage of the language, that it would scarcely be necessary to set it forth were it not that the fact has at various times been called in question, or at least it has been denied that the occasion of applying to them the term *Shên* was the occasion of worshipping them.

In Chinese books the common and often recurring classification of the gods whose worship is a part of the state ritual, is *T'ien Shên* (天 神), *Ti Chih* (地 祇), and *Jên Kwei* (人 鬼). This classification is held by the Chinese to be exhaustive of all worshipped beings. The correlated terms *T'ien Shên* and *Ti Chih* are sometimes used in the singular, and are then equivalent to *heaven god*, and *earth god*, or goddess. At other times they are used in the plural, and are then equivalent to the *gods of heaven* and the *gods or goddesses of earth*. The proper rendering of *Chih* is no doubt *goddess*. The Chinese have no masculine or feminine terminations. They express the feminine either by using a different word or by prefixing the qualifying term *Mu* (母) for animals, or *Nü* (女) for persons. We never, however, find in the state ritual such a combination as 女 神, nor is it found in other books save as applied

occasionally to deified women. Add to this the well-known fact that the Chinese universally represent heaven as male, and earth as female, and it will be seen that *Chih* evidently means goddess. This fact is of itself enough to show its relationship to the word *Shên*. A woman is as much human as a man, and a goddess is as much divine as a god. The Chinese dictionary in defining the *Ch'i* says that they are *earth gods* (地神), and still more conclusively the ritual addresses the earth goddess as *Shên*, and speaks of her divine (*Shên*) seat or throne.

The *Jên Kwei* (人鬼) are the souls of deified men,—ancestors, heroes, etc. The term is generic, indicating their origin, but not implying that they are to be worshipped. Hence in the ritual, when the form of worshipping them is prescribed, they are never called *Kwei* (鬼), but always *Shên*. The tablet or altar in front of which the worship is offered, is uniformly spoken of as *Shên Wei* (神位). The term *Kwei Wei* (鬼位) is not found in a single instance in the whole ritual, and I do not think it can be found in any Chinese book, tablet or inscription, for the reason that a *Kwei* is not worthy to sit on a throne, and is not regarded as a proper object of worship. I venture the assertion that there is no temple in China, no matter how insignificant, in which the god who fills the middle seat is spoken of and addressed as a *Kwei*. Even though in other circumstances a *Kwei*, yet *here* he is a *Shên*. The *Kwei*, as a class of individual beings, are inferior ; they are servants. In one point of view, they are untitled or uncanonized souls ; in another, they are constables and messengers to the *Shên*, and as such they are sometimes propitiated, and their good offices sought as are those of underlings in a Yamen. Paper money and incense are burned at certain seasons to the wandering *Kwei* who have no posterity, or have had no burial ; but no prostrations are made nor prayers offered. The burning is not properly worship, but simply by way of deprecation and charity. It has sometimes been asserted that the general class of *Shên* does not include *Shangti* (上帝), save in so far as the word *Shên* means spirit ; that as a class of worshipped beings, the *Shên* constitute an inferior order. This idea is based chiefly upon the numerous passages in which *Shangti* is first mentioned, and then the hundred gods (百神), or some similar term. From this it is inferred that *Shangti* is different from the *Shên*, the latter forming a lower class. It should be observed, however, that the conclusion does not follow from the premises. The term hundred gods (百神) is nothing more than a convenient collective term for the other beings worshipped at the great sacrifices. They are, of course, inferior to *Shangti* in rank, because *Shangti* is the highest god in the pantheon, but they are

not a different class or species, any more than the Emperor is of a different species from his officers. He and they are alike MEN, and *Shangti* and the 百神 alike GODS.

Similar forms of expression are found used with reference to Zeus, thus :—

1. Zeus surpasses gods and men.—Homer.

2. Yesterday Zeus went to Oceanus, to the blameless Ethiopians to a banquet, and with him went all the gods.—Homer.

3. O Zeus and gods.—Plato.

That the term *Shên* is constantly applied to *Shangti*, is beyond controversy, but the question as to whether it characterizes him as a *god*, or simply as a *spirit*, involves at once the whole subject now in discussion, and cannot of course be specially entered into in this connection. It is sufficient for the present purpose to note the following facts and illustrations :—

In the ritual of the present dynasty, *Shangti* is several times spoken of as *Ti Shên* (帝神), *the sovereign god*. His tablet is spoken of as his *Shên Wei* (神位), *divine seat or throne*, just as are those of all the rest of the beings worshipped. In the form of prayer addressed to *Shangti*, the closing formal address uses the term *Shên*, and raises it above the line in the same way as is done with the title *Shangti* at the beginning.

天神則上帝及五帝也.

The gods of heaven are Shangti and the five rulers.

天神之大者曰昊天上帝,其佐曰五帝. 五經通義.

The greatest of the heavenly gods is the imperial Shangti, and his assistants are the five rulers.

三神,上帝,太山,梁父也. 文選.

The three gods are Shangti, the T'ai mountain, and Liang Fu.

皆上帝諸神之賜也. 文獻通考.

All (these blessings) are the bestowment of Shangti and all the gods.

鄭康成以上天之神凡六,昊天者,天皇大帝.五帝者,太微五帝. 王肅曰,天惟一神,以五帝爲次神,而儒附奠者多胡據而爲說云. 文獻通考.

Ching Kang-ch'êng regards the gods of heaven as being six in all, viz., imperial heaven, the great and sovereign ruler of heaven, together with the five rulers known as the five rulers of the North Pole. Wang Su says that heaven is only one god, and that the five rulers are inferior gods. The literati, however, generally agree with Ching Kang-Chêng.

郊之神莫尊于上帝. 詩經體註.

Of the gods worshipped at the border sacrifice, none are higher than Shangti.

The first of the above sentences expressly enumerates *Shangti* as *one* of the heavenly or superior gods. The second states distinctly that *Shangti* is the greatest of the superior gods, while it classes him with the five others who are his aids. The third, in defining the expression "the three gods," enumerates *Shangti* as one of them. The fourth associaties *Shangti* as acting with all the gods in the bestowment of blessings. The fifth discusses the question whether heaven is a hierarchy of six gods, of whom *Shangti* is one, or whether it is a monarchy with one god who is *Shangti*, and five subordinate assistants. The last is a sentence frequently met in classical comments, which, while asserting that *Shangti* is the highest of the gods worshipped at the great sacrifice, classes him distinctly with the others as a *Shên*.

The above extracts, which might be multiplied to any extent, are quite enough to show that *Shangti* is one of the class of *Shên*, not distinguished from the others save in that he is the highest—the head, in fact, of the Chinese pantheon, as Zeus was the head of the Greek pantheon, or Jupiter of the Roman. It has been asserted with some confidence that Buddha is not ranked as a *Shên* by the Chinese. In the RECORDER for March, 1877, the editor, Mr. Wylie, asserts that 佛 *Fu* is not found in the 神仙鑑 or "Cyclopedia of Gods and Fairies" and that the *Fu* as a class are especially distinguished by the Chinese from their *Shên*. He indeed admits that the *Fu* are included under the *Shên* in a loose way of speaking, but says that in this case *Shên* is used "simply as a spiritual, not as a worshipped being."

It will not be difficult to prove to every impartial student of this question that *Fu* is called and ranked a *Shên* in the sense of a worshipped being. In the first place, however, Mr. Wylie is mistaken in supposing that the 神仙鑑 does not mention *Fu*. In two editions which I have examined, he is distinctly mentioned and a full account given of his birth as follows:—

西域竺乾舍衛國摩耶夫人於前辛卯歲見霞光陡起感而有孕，懷二十二年不產，至癸丑歲老君昇遐見時度已至，因夫人晝寢從兜率天降神乘曰精投入摩耶口中．摩耶夢中見一六牙白象，夫人欣然悅之張口吞於腹，時四月八日夜半左手攀枝嬰兒剖右脇出．夫人不少傷害．生時大地震動五色光貫於太微．是月恆星不見，墜地便周行七步目顧四方，分手指天地作六獅子吼聲曰兩大之間獨我爲尊．有二龍神降，一吐冷水一吐温水沐浴金軀，放大智光明照十方世界，地湧金道華，捧雙足有三十二相八十種，好頰如獅子，皮不受水，手足皆齘鑠毛悉，句上生名曰悉達多．

In Hsi Yü, in the kingdom of Chu Kan Shê Wei, was a woman named Māyă. It came to pass in the year Shên Mao that she saw a bright cloud suddenly rise before her, and was at once so affected that she became pregnant. She carried the child twenty-two years in her womb, and it was not yet born. At length in the year Kwei Ch'ou, the venerable prince, ascending to the distant heaven, perceived that the appointed time had come. As Māyă was sleeping during the day, he descended from Tushita, riding upon a beam of light, and entered into her through her mouth. Māyă in her dreams saw a six-tusked white elephant, and being enraptured with it, opened her mouth and swallowed it. This was the eighth day of the fourth month. At midnight the child, holding in his left hand a branch of a tree, cleft open his mother's right side and came out; she not feeling any pain, nor having any wound. At his birth the whole earth shook, and a beam of variegated light extended to the north star, and during that month the stars were not seen. As soon as he touched the earth he made a circuit of seven steps, looked to the four points of the compass, pointed with one hand to heaven, and with the other to the earth, and with the roar of six lions said: "Of all between the two great ones (heaven and earth) I alone am exalted." Two dragon gods, one spouting cold water and the other warm water, descended and bathed his golden body. The intelligence and radiance of his countenance flashed to the ten regions of the world. A stream of golden light issued from the earth around his feet. He had thirty-two marks (of distinction) and eighty kinds of excellence. His jaws were like those of a lion, his skin shed the water, and in his hands and feet were distinctly traced, in fine interwoven lines, his birth name, Hsi Toă.

Then follows a full account of Buddha's life, in which he is repeatedly called *Fu*, as also by his full name 釋迦牟尼 Shâ-kya-muni. This *Shên Hsien T'ung Chien* is a chaotic mass of mythological stories, without a shadow of order or method, and hence perhaps it came to pass that Mr. Wylie overlooked Buddha. The author of the work, however, did not overlook him, and as the supposed omission of Buddha from this Cyclopedia of Gods and Genii was cited as a proof that Buddha was not a *Shên*, the undoubted fact that his name is included, will, I suppose, be taken as a proof that he *is* a *Shên*. There is plenty more proof, however, as the following citations abundantly show:—

1. 西方有神名曰佛. 史記.

In the west there is a god whose name is Fu.

2. 帝聞西域有神其名曰佛. 因遣使之天竺求其道. 通鑑綱目.

The Emperor heard that in Western lands there was a god whose name was Fu, and he therefore sent messengers to India to seek for his doctrine.

3. 佛者戎狄之神,不足以屈天下之主. 通鑑綱目.

Buddha is a barbarian god, not worthy to command the reverence of the ruler of the empire.

4. 神卽佛,佛卽神,不過中外字音之不同耳. 西遊眞詮

God is Fu and Fu is god; the only difference is that one word is foreign and the other Chinese.

The examples are more than sufficient to prove the point that Buddha is a *Shên*. The fourth example makes *Shên* and *Fu* synonymous in the most emphatic terms. Can any one affirm that *Shên* is used in the sense of "spirit" in this sentence? In the second sentence, also, the fact that there was such a *Shên*, led forthwith to the conclusion that there was connected with him a *doctrine*, that is, rules of conduct and forms of worship. What could show more plainly than this, that the word *Shên* was understood to include the idea of worship? It may be added that in the ritual of the present dynasty (大清會典), there is a form of ceremony for bathing the image of *Fu* and sacrificing to him, in which he is expressly called a *Shên*, and his throne is five times called his divine (Shên) seat; 神 being in each case raised above the line after the Chinese manner of doing honor to the name of a person. That *Fu* should be distinguished from the native gods is to be expected, nor is it inconsistent with what is said above. In such cases, *Shên* is used eminently for the native divinities as distinguished from Buddha, who is a foreign god. The doctrines and worship of *Fu* have peculiarities distinguishing him from the native gods, which lead to his being sometimes placed in contrast with them. Thus we have such as the following:—

1. 若是神圖佛像,背面必有標題. 琵琶記.

If it were a picture of a god or an image of Buddha, there would certainly be an inscription behind it.

2. 帝晚年深信佛道鬼神. 通鑑綱目.

The Emperor in his last years had great faith in the doctrines of Buddha and in the gods.

3. 大悲平等是佛,正直無私是神. 信心錄.

To be merciful and condescending is (the nature of) Buddha, to be upright and without selfishness is (the nature of) the gods.

If there be any anomaly in such language, it would be just as great on the supposition that *Shên* means "spirit." It would then prove that Buddha is not a spirit, which is proving too much.

The general statement that all beings and objects worshipped by the Chinese are called *Shên*, is thus abundantly proved. In fact the word *Shên* is frequently used collectively for all objects of worship. When Confucius said, 祭神如神在, "*worship the gods as if they were present*," he used the word at large for any and every being worshipped (except ancestors) and in such phrases as 神人共悦, "*gods and men are pleased*," the word is used collectively for all the gods of whatever rank or class. Now what can be more natural and reasonable, than that the term used to designate all the beings worshipped by any people, should be in their language the word for god? Among polytheistic nations, worship is that which distinguishes a god as such, so that when we know whom they worship, we know who are their gods, and when we know the *common* term by which these objects of worship are designated, we know their word for god. The correctness of this principle must, I think, be evident to all; and from it we reach the conclusion that *Shên is the word* in Chinese which means god and gods.

Not only is *Shên* applied to all objects of worship, but it classifies them as such. Some of them are called *Fu* (佛), and some of them *Poo Sa* (菩薩), and some of them *Shangti* (上帝), but none of these terms is common to them all. *Fu* (佛) is used as a species of generic by the Buddhists, and *Ti* (帝) in the same way by the Taoists, but in each case the term is a special designation of the deities of this one sect. Great claims have been made in behalf of *Ti* (帝) as meaning god, but it cannot be maintained for a moment that all or even any considerable part of the multitudinous objects of worship in China are so called or *can be* so called. The only word which applies equally and naturally to all objects of worship in China, and which classifies them as such, is the word *Shên*. *Ling* (靈), it is true, may be applied to all objects of worship, but so used it is generally an adjective, not a noun, and even when used as a noun, it does not in the least suggest or imply worship. The word *Shên does* imply worship. All the ideas which the Chinese have of worship, and all the rites and ceremonies connected with it, are associated in their minds with this word. Simply to assert of any invisible being that he is a *Shên*, does *without adjunct* or *comment* suggest the idea of worship. For the truth of this assertion I confidently appeal to the unprejudiced judgment of every intelligent Chinese. The very radical under which the character is classified, is the radical which includes the whole business of worship in its two great forms of prayer and sacrifice. The proof of this will be more fully developed in a subsequent chapter. It is sufficient to refer to it here to show the associations of this word in the minds of

those who classified the words of the language for the purpose of writing. In the ritual prescribing the forms of official worship, nearly every object of worship is addressed or spoken of as *Shên*, also the seat or throne on which the tablet is placed for worship is always called *Shên Wei* (神位), *divine seat*, and we continually find the term *Shên* used as an adjective, meaning *divine*, to characterize the victims, utensils, etc., used in worship. In short, the associations of this word, and the ideas inseparably connected with it in the Chinese mind, show clearly that it classifies the being to which it is applied as an object of worship. Now which word associates itself most naturally and commonly with worship—*god* or *spirit?* I appeal to the religious instincts of man's nature and to the teachings of universal history, to sustain me in the assertion that this association is with the word *god* rather than with the word *spirit*. Men do not worship spirits because they are *spirits*, but they do worship gods because they are *gods*. In like manner, *the Chinese worship their Shên* BECAUSE THEY ARE SHÊN. That the word *Shên* contains within itself, as an inherent part of its meaning, the right and title to worship, and that the Chinese do in fact worship their *Shên*, not because they are something more than and different from other *Shên*, but simply and solely because they are *Shên*, appears so clearly implied and assumed in the every-day language of the Chinese, that it seems almost superfluous to cite formal proof. Seeing, however, that the fact has been questioned, I will cite a few passages :—

1. 且夫祝直言情則謗吾君也,隱匿過則欺上帝也,上帝神也則不可欺,上帝不神,祝亦無益. 晏子.

"*If in prayer I should speak the truth plainly, I would be reviling my prince. If I should conceal his faults, I would be deceiving Shangti; but if Shangti be Shên he cannot be deceived, and if he be not Shên, of what use is it to pray to him?*"

2. 民奉其君,愛之如父母,仰之如日月,敬之如神明,畏之如雷霆. 通鑑綱目.

"*The people respect their sovereign, loving him as father and mother, looking up to him as to the sun and moon, reverencing him as they do the gods, and fearing him as they do the thunder.*"

3. 李靖怒發復一脚蹬倒鬼判,傳令放火燒了廟宇,分付進香萬民曰,此非神也不許進香,嚇得衆人忙忙下山. 封神演義.

Li Ching grew angry, and giving another kick, knocked down the recorder and gave orders to set fire to the temple; he then commanded the multitude who were offering incense, saying: "This is not a god (Shên); you must not offer incense to him," and so frightened all the people that they ran down the hill in confusion.

4. 爲神詎比溝中斷,註爲神謂祀以謂神. 韓愈文集.

"*How can that which is regarded as a god (Shên) compare with a clump in the gutter! The comment says to regard as a god (Shên) is to sacrifice to as a god (Shên).*"

It is hard to see how a sentence could be framed to show more clearly than the first one cited above, that *Shên* properly includes worship. "If *Shangti* be not a *Shên*, it is of no use to pray to him," that is to say, if he be not a *Shên* he has not the power and the authority to answer the prayer. "Spirit" is here wholly beside the mark. Whether *Shangti* be a spirit or not has evidently nothing to do with his ability to answer prayer. Observe also how the sentence affords the clearest proof that *Shangti* is a *Shên*, and marks the sense in which he is a *Shên*. It further shows that *Shên* includes the idea of inscrutable intelligence which cannot be deceived—such as can by no means be claimed as a necessary attribute of spirit. In the second sentence we see how reverence is a thing that pertains naturally to the *Shên*. Scores of examples of similar construction could readily be furnished. In the third sentence we see how that to deny that an idol is a *Shên*, implies that it is not proper to offer incense to it ; and in the fourth, that to regard as a *Shên* is to regard as an object of sacrifice. Thus it is proved, and more than proved, that the word *Shên* characterizes the being to which it is applied as a being to be worshipped. This taken with the other fact that all beings worshipped in China are called *Shên*, *proves*, I think, that the word means god. It certainly proves that *Shên* means more than "spirit." Worship points *unmistakably* to divinity, not to spirituality. It will perhaps be said that this argument lies so entirely on the surface of this question, that it is wasting words to urge it. It should be noted, however, that its lying on the surface is just what makes it strong. It needs no subtle logic to state it, and no deep erudition to appreciate it. The idea of god, if not innate, is so exceedingly natural to the human mind, that men have rarely if ever been found without it. It is not so much a philosophical deduction as a spontaneous intuition, hence a word for its expression is one of the prime necessities of human language. It cannot be forgotten, nor become obsolete, but must remain an ever living and component part of human speech. We are told by some that *Shangti* means god or a god,* but, to go no further, the simple fact that the term *Shangti* is very rarely used by the people, not in the least filling, in the language of common life, the place filled by the term for god in all other languages, proves conclusively that, however applicable it may be to God, it

* This is the position taken by Dr. Chalmers.

cannot be *the* word of the language which *means* god generically. It is altogether a fallacy to assume that the word for god is a philosophical and learned term, which can be ascertained only by labored investigation. There is no word more likely to be found in the every-day language of common life than the word god. So that the argument based on the common usage of the people, is not to be discredited because of its plainness. *Its plainness is its strength.* It is in fact quite unanswerable, and ought of itself to settle the question. It has been affirmed by those who hold *Shên* to mean spirit, that the Chinese are not so much polytheists as "polypneumatists." Thus a new word must be invented to express the *peculiar* and *remarkable* state of things in China, viz., that the numerous beings which the people worship and of which they make images, are not "gods" but "spirits"—albeit Christian nations are as much *polypneumatists* as the Chinese, recognizing quite as many spirits as they do.* And is China so very different from all other nations in the theory of her divinities? It is hard to see the great difference. Other nations have worshipped chiefly the souls of dead heroes; so has China. Other nations have made images of their gods; so has China. Other nations have burned incense and offered sacrifices to their gods, so has China. Other nations have had superior and inferior gods of various ranks; so has China. Other nations have called their highest and lowest objects of worship by one generic term; so has China. *In fact, there is no essential difference,* and there is no sufficient reason why the common term by which she designates her objects of worship, should not be understood and translated precisely as have been the words by which other heathen nations have designated their objects of worship. No one will deny, I presume, that the worship of any one of these *Shên, Ch'êng Hwang* (城隍) for example, is a violation of the first commandment. Hence it follows that whatever he may be *called, Ch'êng Hwang* is *in fact* a heathen god. Now, if calling him a *Shên* does not express this fact, then how is it to be expressed in the Chinese language? What other word will you use by which to *assert categorically,* that this being or person called *Ch'êng Hwang* is not a man, nor a devil, but a god? Will you say he is *Shangti* (上帝)? This you might not be willing to do, nor would

* This word, polypneumatist, will not carry with it the meaning that Dr. Medhurst intended. A polytheist is, *strictly* speaking, a believer in the existence of many gods, but since worship is necessarily associated with the word god, a polytheist is universally understood to mean a *worshipper* of *many gods.* A polypneumatist, however, is not necessarily understood to mean a *worshipper* of many spirits, as Dr. Medhurst evidently intended, but simply one who believes in the existence of many spirits. Dr. Medhurst also coined another word, viz., pneumatolatry, in the vain effort to express the supposed anomalous condition of things in China, but with no better success than in the former case, inasmuch as all good Christian people are addicted to pneumatolatry, seeing they all worship a spirit. Evidently the supposed anomaly of Chinese worship is so great that the resources of human language will not meet the exigency!

the Chinese allow to pass unchallenged such a palpable misnomer. If, on the other hand, you wish to assert that he *is not* a god, which is precisely what Christian missionaries do wish to assert, how will you do it? Will you say he is not *Shangti?* You accomplish nothing by such an assertion, as no Chinese has ever thought of his being *Shangti.* Or will you say he is not Ti (帝)? Your language will probably not be understood at all; and if any one of your hearers takes sufficient interest to inquire, he will ask to what *Ti* you refer. You can only answer *Shangti*, which involves the same misapplication as before. You can find absolutely no means in the Chinese language of expressing this idea in a *categorical form*, except by saying that he is not a *Shên.** Thus, if *Shên* means spirit, and not god, then is the Chinese language incapable of expressing *in a categorical* form the idea that any particular being is or is not a god,—a conclusion not to be entertained for a moment, of a language having such a history and such a literature.

It has been maintained and reiterated in various forms that worshipping any being does not make that being a god, nor prove that he is so called. This assertion seems very much like quibbling on words. Worship, it is true, does not make the being worshipped a god, but it does what is far more to the point in the premises, it shows that in the estimation of the worshipper he is a god. If a man were traveling in a foreign land, and wholly ignorant of the religious notions of its people, and should come upon a temple in which was an image, and should see the people offering sacrifices and praying to the image, would he not at once infer that this image was esteemed a god, or the representation of one, and would he not be *unmistakably correct?* If there be any act or any language, which above all other recognizes the being to whom it is directed as divine, it is the act of worship, and the language of prayer. Why does the Bible call heathen deities gods? Because they are such in reality? By no means, but simply and solely because they are worshipped. With what reason then can it be maintained that their being worshipped proves nothing as to their being or not being regarded as gods?

Saint worship has been confidently appealed to as sustaining the position that a worshipped being is not necessarily a god. This argument sounds specious, and it has been brought forward and relied upon as a proof by nearly every writer on the opposite side of this question from Dr. Medhurst down. A little consideration

*If you say 城隍不是神 you do, according to the usage of the Chinese language, say precisely and definitely that *Ch'êng Hwang* is not a god—has not the rank and attributes which make it proper for men to worship him That you will be so understood, and that readily, has been abundantly proved by the experience of numerous parties in innumerable instances.

will show its fallacy. In the first place, the Roman Catholics do not call ALL their objects of worship *saints*, which makes a very wide distinction between them and the Chinese, and shows that the cases are not parallel. In the second place, the Roman Catholics do not offer the sacrifice of the mass to the saints, and they take pains to specify that the worship which they give to the saints is different from, and inferior to, that which they give to God. This distinction in the grades of worship, and the pains which the Roman Catholic church takes to set it forth, show abundantly that they, as well as others, feel that worship in its full import marks the being to whom it is offered as a god. Now there is absolutely no such distinction of worship in China. The term *Shên* includes the highest of their gods, and is used in connection with the highest worship they offer. In the third place, if we discard the Roman Catholic distinction of different kinds of worship, the validity of which Protestants deny, then I maintain that the worship of saints proves logically that the Roman Catholics are practically polytheists. I take it to be the unanimous sentiment of orthodox Protestant Christians, that worshipping any being, convicts the worshipper of violating the first commandment, no matter by what term he may choose to call the being he worships, or by what distinction he may attempt to escape that conclusion. It may perhaps be said that the main point is not what the Roman Catholics ought logically to call the saints they worship, but what they actually do call them. It is important to note, however, that the Roman Catholics have special and manifest reasons for not calling the saints they worship, gods. Monotheism is so conspicuous a feature of Christianity, and so emphatically enjoined in the Bible, that no Christian church could by any possibility openly avow polytheism. Hence the thing came into the Romish church under a *false name*. They are polytheists in fact, while they deny it in words. They are likewise idolaters in fact, while they deny it in words. If their worship of saints proves that a worshipped being is not necessarily a god, their worship of images also proves that a worshipped image is not necessarily an idol, which is proving far too much. No such special and controlling influence as determined the practice of the Romanists, has ever existed in heathen nations, least of all in China. In point of fact, no heathen nation has ever made any such distinction. They have called all their objects of worship, from the highest to the lowest, gods.* To suppose that the Chinese out of deference to mono-

*Tylor in his Primitive Culture says: 'Beings who in Christian or Moslem theology would be called angels, saints, and demons, would, under the same definitions, be called deities in polytheistic systems." And he goes on to show that the Chuwashes, a tribe of Turkish affinity, worship the Mohammedan angel of death, Azrael, as the god of death, and that the Circassians, in consequence of the mixing of corrupt Christianity with Paganism, worship, among other subordinate deities, one called Mariam, who is none other than the Virgin Mary.

theistic principles and traditions, have been led to call ninety-nine hundredths of their gods by another term than *god*, is an assumption wholly unsupported by the facts of the case. In fine, the argument that *Shên* means god, which is based upon the fact that it is commonly applied to all objects of worship, and characterizes them as such, is entirely conclusive.

II. Deification.

That Shên means god and not spirit is proved by the manner in which new Shên come to be such.

Two words are ordinarily used to describe the process, viz., *fêng* (封), to appoint or constitute, and ch'êng (成), to become. The first refers to an official act ; the second to a natural or moral process. Let us consider these words in order.

First, then, new *Shên* are added to the Chinese pantheon by an act of appointment given by imperial, or other competent authority, which act is expressed by the word *fêng*. The following examples will serve to illustrate the meaning and force of this word.

1. 先西王母徒,巫咸,以鴻術爲帝堯醫師,後化去封爲比山之神,因名巫山. 神仙鑑.

In ancient times Wu Hsien, a disciple of the Western Royal Mother, displayed wonderful skill as physician to the imperial Yao. He was afterwards translated and appointed to be the Shên of the Pi mountain, on account of which it was called the Wu Mountain.

2. 姜子牙斬將封神. 封神演義.

Chiang Tsï-ya (i.e. Chiang T'ai-kung) appointed the slain generals to be Shên.

3. 子牙曰,今奉太上元始勅命.....特封爾爲冰消瓦解之神,雖爲惡煞,爾宜克修厥職,毋得再肆凶鋒. 封神演義.

Tsï Ya said, I have received a commandment from the "Ancient of days" (lit. the most ancient beginning), etc.....specially appointing you to be the ice-melting, tile-breaking god, and although you are an evil fury, you ought to strive to fulfil your duties, and not again give rein to your fierceness.

4. 太上元始勅命.....特封爾殷郊爲執年歲居太歲之神坐守週年. 封神演義.

"The Ancient of days" has given commandment.....specially appointing you, Yin Chiao, to be the presiding ruler of the year—the great Year-Shên who sits and guards the rolling year.

5. 子牙又命柏鑑引瘟部正神上臺受封. 封神演義.

Tsï Ya also commanded Poŭ Chien to bring forward the chief Shên of the Pestilence Board to receive his appointment.

6. 通天教主曰, 吾三教共議封神, 其中有忠臣義士上榜者, 有不成仙道而成神道者, 各有深淺厚薄彼此緣分, 故神有尊卑, 死有先後. 封神演義.

The Ethical Lord of the whole heaven said, Our three sects consult together in appointing the Shên. Among those put on the roll there are faithful officers and virtuous scholars and others who without becoming Genii have become Shên. Each has his own special kind and degree of fitness, hence among the Shên there are differences of rank; some candidates also die earlier than others.

Most of the above examples are taken from the 封神演義, a book which contains the traditions of the Chinese in relation to the origin of their pantheon. It is in China what Hesiod's Theogony was in Greece. It is indeed ridiculed by the learned, just as was Hesiod by the philosophers of Greece, yet it has fixed for the Chinese the names and offices of the greater part of their gods. It details how *Chiang Tsï-ya*, commonly called *Chiang T'ai-kung* (B.C. 1000) was commissioned by 元始天尊, "the Primordial Lord of Heaven" to appoint the gods and give them their stations and duties. The appointments recorded constitute a regular imperial government, not only covering human affairs but also many of the parts and powers of nature. Since the time of *Chiang T'ai-kung* many gods have also been added to the pantheon by edict of the Emperor.*

Now is it not evident from these examples, as well as from the known use of the term *fêng* in other connections, that to *fêng* a man a *Shên* is to deify him in the same sense and in the same way as was anciently done in Greece and Rome? With what color of reason can it be maintained that this act of authority, which in Rome was a deification, comes in China to be a *spiritification?* Who will assert, or what intelligent Chinese will allow, that to *fêng* a man a *Shên* makes any change in the mode of his existence; so that from being something else, he comes to be a spirit? Is it not abundantly clear that to *fêng* a man a *Shên* is not to confer a new nature, but a higher rank? In order to evade the force of this argument, it has been asserted that to *fêng* a man a *Shên*, is nothing more than to confer on a dead man a certain title, and to direct certain worship

* It is not of course maintained that all Chinese gods have been thus regularly and formally appointed by recognized authority. It is vain to expect order or consistency in any heathen pantheon. It is enough for our argument that an imperial appointment is recognized as the *regular* way of becoming a *Shên*. So prevalent is this idea among the people that they will not hesitate to use the word *fêng* even of *Shangti* as well as of the deities who preside over the elements, etc.

to be rendered to him.* Now, without discussing at length precisely what the word *fêng* includes, it is very clear that it expresses the efficacious act by which the *man* comes to be a *Shên*. This is evident from the presence of the word 爲 *wei*, which is usually interposed between the words *fêng* and *Shên*. But will giving a title and worship to any being, make that being a spirit? If so, then indeed has language lost its meaning. The absurdity of such an idea is duplicated when we consider that the soul of man thus invested (*fêng*) was just as much and just as truly a spirit before he received this investiture as it was afterwards. So that whatever *fêng* may or may not mean, it is clear that the word *Shên*, concerning which it predicates, cannot in this connection mean spirit.

The word *fêng*, however, implies more than merely to confer a title and prescribe worship. To *fêng* a man a *Shên* is held by the Chinese to be the high authoritative act of the "Son of Heaven" done in the name and by the authority of Heaven. When it is proposed to *fêng* any one a *Shên*, a memorial is prepared by the Emperor addressed to *Shangti* (上帝). This is, by burning, or other ceremony, supposed to be sent up to heaven; and when in due course a favorable answer is supposed to be received, the Emperor proceeds to issue his decree conferring on the person in question as the fitting reward of his meritorious deeds, and in consequence of the supposed manifestation of miraculous powers, certain rank and dignity, in recognition of which a title is given and worship prescribed.† That this is what is meant by canonizing (*fêng*) a man as a *Shên*, is unquestionable. The theory that it means nothing more than merely to confer an empty title and order certain worship to be officially paid, will not bear investigation. The Chinese are not so stupid as to accord honors and dignities to one whose rank they do not suppose entitles him to them; nor are Chinese Emperors so absurdly unreasonable as to order sacrifices and worship to be given to certain persons while they make no sort of pretense that such persons have in reality the rank which makes

*The argument has reference exclusively to the primary appointment of the *man* to be a *Shên*. Those who are already *Shên* are frequently promoted or appointed to a higher rank. This is termed 加封, to *add an investiture*. It does not make the man a *Shên*, but it makes him a *Shên* of a higher rank. In like manner, a man's first appointment to office makes him an officer, and his subsequent appointment to a higher office, makes him a higher officer.

†The deification of men is oftentimes loosely ascribed to the Emperor himself, which is not strange, seeing he is the agent by whom it is promulgated and whose authority gives it value with the people. It is also likely that the form of memorializing Shangti is oftentimes neglected. That it should be, or something else substituted for it, is analogous with everything else in China. It should also be noted that most of the edicts of the Emperor relating to this subject are not formal deifications, but simply responses to memorials granting official worship to certain personages in view of supposed manifestations of divine power. In such cases the word *fêng* is not used.

these acts appropriate.* Let it be noted that the prime idea in the act by which a man is made a *Shên*, is the conferring of rank and honor on him. But what honor is there in being made a spirit? (supposing such a thing possible in the case of a dead man, who is a spirit already). What special authority or dignity have spirits as such? To be made a god, however, is honorable in the highest degree; and this is just the honor conferred in this act of *fênging*. In fine, the phrase 封爲神 is the equivalent of our word deify. So after a man's death to *fêng* his soul as a *Shên*, is to make him a *god*, a being having the rank and power which make it proper for men to worship him.

The other word used to express the manner in which the *Shên* come to be such, is ch'êng 成, to *complete* or *become*. The phrase *ch'êng Shên* is constantly used by Chinese religionists, and expresses their highest hope for the future, a hope which can only be realized by those who are eminent in virtue. The following examples will serve as illustrations. The word 爲 is sometimes used instead of *ch'êng*—the sense being substantially the same.

1. 善人獲神佑, 而成神. 信心錄.

The good man enjoys divine protection and becomes a Shên.

2. 奇哉死而爲神, 轉世爲人者有之 咫聞錄.

The wonderful thing is that there are those who, having become Shên, are born into the world again as men.

3. 人孰無死, 惟正直忠孝其死爲神. 信心錄.

Who of men is not mortal; but when the upright, the truthful, the faithful and the filial die, they become Shên.

4. 聘才卽站起身來道, 怪不得了, 三爺是箇大賢人之後, 你們老大人在我們南京地方已成了神. 品花寶鑑.

P'in T'sai at once lifted himself and said: "No wonder! San Yeh is the son of a great sage; your father attained to Shênship in our city of Nanking."

*That to *fêng* a man to be a *Shên* means something more than merely to confer a title, and prescribe certain sacrifices, is attested by the following from a Roman Catholic book called 聖教理證. It says: 帝王雖尊雖大, 亦是我等同類之人, 有生有死, 只有封生人爲官之權, 無有封死人爲神之能, 只看久旱久雨之時, 帝王尙無法可活, 既自己不能掌管風雨, 反能封死人掌管天地萬物, 有是理乎. "*Although the Emperors are honorable and great, yet they are men as we are. They are born and die. They have only authority to appoint living men to be officers, but have no power to appoint dead men to be Shên. In times of drought and flood, the Emperors are unable to afford relief. Seeing then that they cannot control the wind and the rain, is it reasonable to suppose that they can appoint a dead man to control heaven and earth and all things?*" This witness cannot be accused of prejudice in regard to this argument, yet we see that worship, etc., is not so much as referred to, but the power and authority which make this worship appropriate, are represented as *the thing* expressed by the word *fêng*. The same style of argument I have heard Chinese Christians use against the heathen hundreds of times, and I have never heard its fairness denied. It is worthy of note also, how the writer of this extract, though he is supposed to hold that *Shên* means spirit, does here *naturally and of very necessity* make *Shên* to be something different from a dead man's soul, and makes that difference to consist in *power* and *dignity*.

5. 見說天上有音樂響，必是他成了神，或是登了仙去. 紅樓夢.

I hear it said that in the sky there is a sound of music. It must be that he has become a Shên, or ascended to the genii.

6. 通天教主被四位教主破了萬仙陣，內中有成神者，有歸西方教主者，有逃去者，有無辜受戮者. 封神演義.

When the army of the ethical Lord of the whole heaven, consisting of a myriad Genii, was vanquished by the four lords, some became Shên, some went over to the Western Lord, some escaped, and some were undeservedly slain.

What, now, is meant by "becoming a *Shên?*" Does it mean to become a GOD, or to become a SPIRIT? If it means to become a spirit, it can only refer to the disembodiment of the soul at death, and be in fact but a synonym for death. *This, however, it is very far from being.* In that case, where would the wonder lie in the second example? and in the third, such a sense is absolutely excluded. It would turn the whole sentence into nonsense. All men become disembodied spirits at death, but all do not become *Shên.* To become a *Shên* is uniformly represented by the Chinese as something to be *attained*, and a vast amount of labor has been expended by the Taoists in discussing and explaining the process.

The Chinese, it is true, frequently speak of their deceased relatives and friends as *Shên*, but this is simply by way of compliment. It is a weakness of all men to eulogize the dead, and a Chinese can think of no higher praise than to call his dead friends *Shên.* The characters *Shên Chu* 神主 written on the ancestral tablet, show that each man regards his own ancestors as *Shên.* It should be noted, however, that they are not *Shên* to others, and that before he himself so regards them, they are canonized or constituted *Shên* by a regular and formal ceremony of deification. This ceremony is very significant. It is always performed by a man with a degree, wearing his button and in full official dress. It is briefly as follows (with slight variations, no doubt, in different places): A tablet is prepared and the inscription written on it which ends with the words *Shên Wang* 神王. A literary graduate is then invited to *tien chu* 點主, that is, add the dot to this 王, making it a Chu 主. If the family be rich or distinguished, a Chujên, a graduate of the second degree, or a Hanlin—a metropolitan graduate—is selected. Four attendants, one of whom acts as master of ceremonies, conduct him into the room where the coffin stands, and show him to a raised place behind a table, saying 請點主官升臺座, "Will the presiding officer ascend the platform and be

seated." When he is seated, the master of ceremonies calls out 跪 "kneel," upon which the son or sons of the deceased kneel in front of the presiding officer. The master of ceremonies then summons the deceased to present himself before the official desk, saying 請主詣公案前, "Will your lordship please advance to the front of the official desk?" Upon this the tablet is uncovered and placed on the desk before the presiding officer, who takes up the vermilion pen and affixes the dot to the Chu.* The master of ceremonies then calls out 請主歸靈位, "Will his lordship please proceed to his soul's seat?" and adds, 點官退, "Let the presiding officer retire." The tablet is then carried to its place and the sons rise, light incense, present offerings before the tablet, and make four prostrations. The meaning of all this official language and these official forms is abundantly evident. The ceremony is, in fact, a sort of deification. The moiety of imperial authority possessed by the quasi officer, is reckoned sufficient to confer a low order of divinity, constituting the party a family god, and enabling or appointing him to protect and bless his own posterity by whom *alone* he is worshipped. By others he is not worshipped nor called a *Shên* except by way of courtesy. These ancestral deities are called 家神 "family gods." They can only be accounted *Shên* in a somewhat lower and limited sense. They are to the *Shên* at large what the head of a family is to an officer of the government. Of these family gods the phrase *ch'êng Shên* is not used. They have not become gods in consequence of any special virtue or merit. They acquire this rank according to the natural order of things,—seeing they have posterity, who are supposed to be under their authority, and whose business it is to worship them. Thus it still remains true that men generally do not become *Shên* in the proper sense of the word. Hence when a Chinese speaks indifferently of the souls of the dead, he says *Kwei* 鬼, not *Shên*. In classical language Jên Kwei (人鬼), not Jên Shên (人神), means the souls of the dead at large. According to the principles set forth in the religious books of the Chinese, *very few* can become *Shên*. They assert that a thousand meritorious deeds are necessary to become a Hsien (仙) and ten thousand to become a *Shên*. To become a *Shên* is held up as the highest goal of human hope, which can only be attained by a life of perfect virtue or a series of highly meritorious deeds. In fine it cannot be denied that according to the notions of the Chinese, very few do actually become *Shên* in the proper sense of the word, and further that those

* In some places the long down stroke of the 神 is also left out in the first writing and added by the presiding officer in red ink. This also is in imitation of the custom of drawing a long red stroke down the first line, which contains the titles, etc., in official proclamations, as well as adding the official dot at the close.

who do become *Shên*, do so as a result of their meritorious deeds.* Now on the assumption that the dead man's soul is *not* already a *spirit*, what is there in meritorious deeds to make his soul a *spirit*—to change the constitutional elements of his nature, so that from being something else, he becomes an invisible intelligent being, that is, a spirit? Evidently there is nothing at all. A more palpable "*non causa pro causa*" is hard to imagine. Those who hold so firmly that *Shên* means "spirit and only spirit" will, I imagine, find it hard to explain the process by which virtue or merit is supposed to destroy visible form and give birth to life and intelligence. On the other hand, there is, according to the heathen idea, everything in virtue to make a *man* a *god*. Even in the language of Christianity a *holy* man is said to be *godly*, *i.e.*, god-like. How much more should the heathen, who believe in many gods of different ranks, hold that virtue is the passport to divinity, the agency by which a *man* is transformed into a *god*. That they have so held might easily be shown from the history and literature of every heathen nation. Cicero gives expression to this universal idea as follows:—

"It has been a general custom that men who have done important services to the public should be exalted to heaven by fame and universal consent. Thus, Hercules, Castor and Pollux, Aesculapius and Liber became gods." *Nature of the Gods.*

"Romulus was thought worthy of being added to the number of the gods, an honor which no mortal man was ever able to attain but by a glorious preëminence of virtue." *Commonwealth.*

"When the law commands us to render divine honors to those of the human race who have been consecrated as deities, such as Hercules and the rest of the demi-gods, it indicates that the souls of all men indeed are immortal, but that those of saints and heroes are divine." *Laws.*

In these three quotations from Cicero we have language corresponding precisely both to *fêng* and to *ch'êng*. How completely also is the language of the quotation analogous to the third Chinese example given above.

* The process expressed by the phrase *Ch'éng Shén* (成神) is sometimes explained by the Chinese on toe principle of their pantheistic dualism. Man is a compound of *Kwei* and *Shén* (鬼神之合). During life he is in the *yang shî* (陽位) and the *Shên* is the ruling principle. At death he passes into the *yin shî* (陰位), and in the case of ordinary men, his *Shên* is scattered and reabsorbed in the impersonal and all-pervading *Shên*, and the *Kwei* becomes the dominant principle. Before the introduction of the theory of transmigration, this was the end. When, however, according to the Buddhist doctrine, he is born again into the world or *yang shî*, he obtains once more a portion of the *Shên*, and so on. But if, during life, his merit is sufficient, his *Shên* if not scattered at death; he rises superior to the *Kwei*, escapes the circle of transmigrations, and becomes a *Shên*. The process of becoming a *Hsien* (仙) is explained in much the same way, the chief difference being that in the latter case there is no merit, and hence no conferring of rank as a reward, whereas in the former case there is merit, which is rewarded by rank and authority. In the one case the process is simply a tranformation, while in the other, it is a transformation accompanied by an authoritative deification.

Thus it is abundantly clear that to become a *Shên* must of necessity be understood to mean to *become a god*.

In regard to the consistency of the two words *fêng* and *ch'êng*, it may be remarked that the normal process of becoming a *Shên* includes them both. The official *fêng* assumes and is based upon the virtue and merit which are efficacious in the process expressed by *ch'êng*. On the other hand, he whose virtues are sufficient to cause him to *ch'êng shên*, is supposed to be canonized (*fêng*) sooner or later by Shang-ti. Without this latter the process is incomplete, and the party is not properly and fully a *Shên*. He is like a graduate of high degree whose merit entitles him to office, and who is waiting for his appointment. Even should there be some inconsistency in the matter, it need not surprise us when we consider that such theories are not based upon truth, nor constructed according to logical principles, but have grown up with the lapse of time, and are often differently explained by different persons. Any inconsistency of this kind cannot affect the argument which these terms furnish, that *Shên* means *god*, and not *spirit*.

III. Correlatives.

That Shên means god and not spirit is proved by the words which are used as its correlatives.

In fixing the meaning of any word, there is probably no criterion more certain and accurate than that afforded by the words with which it is found in correlation. The natural relations of human thought will thus point out without mistake the true meaning. In all languages the most common and the most natural correlative of the word *god* is the word *man*, while the natural correlative of *spirit* is *matter* or *form*. The following examples will serve to illustrate how Chinese usage correlates *Shên* and *man*:—

1. 瞞得過人, 瞞不過神. 俗語.

You may deceive men, but you cannot deceive the gods.

2. 人未曾舉意, 神先知. 戲文.

Before man has conceived the thought, the gods know it.

3. 人有千般變化, 神有一定安排. 綱鑑.

Men make a thousand shifts to change the destiny which the gods have fixed.

4. 得罪於人猶可衡也, 得罪於神不可逭也. 明文.

If you offend men you may compound it, but if you offend the gods you cannot escape.

5. 爲君子則人喜神佑, 爲小人則人怨神怒. 感應篇.

The superior man enjoys the favor of men and the protection of the gods, the mean man incurs the hatred of men and the anger of the gods.

6. 孔子語治而不語亂,語人而不語神. 論語註.

Confucius discoursed of government, but not of anarchy; of men, but not of the gods.

7. 人道近,而神道遠. 左傳.

The doctrines relating to men are plain, but the doctrines relating to the gods are abstruse.

8. 人雖不用,神必不舍之. 四書註.

Though men will not use it, the gods will certainly not reject it.

9. 不求生得人賞,但願死免神罰. 五台山.

I do not seek the rewards which men bestow in this life; I only desire to escape the punishment which the gods inflict after death.

10. 聖王先成民,而後致力於神. 左傳.

The sage kings first secured the welfare of the people, and then put forth their strength in serving the gods.

11. 禮以治人,樂以通神. 禮記.

By the rules of propriety we govern men; by music, we have communion with the gods.

12. 容人之過,敬神之靈. 感應篇.

Excuse the mistakes of men, and reverence the power of the gods.

13. 百計欺人,豈知神不可欺,多方瞞世,豈知天不可瞞. 敬信錄.

You may deceive men in a hundred ways, but you should know that the gods cannot be deceived; you may cheat the world in many ways, but you should know that Heaven cannot be cheated.

14. 聖人作爲卜筮,是以神輔人,非以神主人也. 論語註.

The sages established the art of divination, that by it the gods might assist men, not that by it the gods might govern men.

15. 有臣不順,神之所惡也,而況人乎. 左傳.

When an officer is disobedient, the gods detest him; how much more do men.

In all these examples the correlation of thought shows that the meaning of the word *Shén* is god or gods. Let the word god or gods be omitted from the above translations, and let one who had never seen them be asked to supply the omission. Would he be at any loss for the right word? Would he pitch on spirit or spirits in a single case? Take for instance the first one, "You may deceive men, but you cannot deceive——." Who needs be in any doubt as to

the word which should fill this blank? The laws of human thought point unmistakeably *to one word*, and that word, if the point of view be monotheistic, is *God*; if polytheistic, it is *gods*. All-pervading and intuitive knowledge, which it is impossible to cheat or deceive, is not an attribute of *spirit* as such, but of *divinity*. So also in the other examples; the word spirits will not fill the blank, nor will any other than god or gods. Even should adherence to a theory lead any, one to render *Shên* in the above examples by "*the spirits*," yet the idea *in his mind* is still not *spirit simply* but divinity. The logical sequence of human thought demands the idea of divinity, and it is beyond the power of mere words to change it. The constant use of spirit and spirits in the sense of god and gods, has created a conventional usage in the English literature of China which is peculiar to itself. It may sound natural to the initiated who understand that "spirits" is used to designate the *gods* which the Chinese worship, but to all others it sounds like very strange English. Let us suppose an inhabitant of ancient Rome engaged in rendering the foregoing Chinese sentences into his native tongue; would he not in every case render *Shên* by *deus* or *dii* not by *spiritus?* If any one thinks otherwise, let him make the experiment of producing a Latin version of these sentences without the use of *deus* or *dii*. Now why can these sentences be rendered into English (after a fashion) without the word god, but not into Latin without the word *deus?* Why, simply because in the conventional style of speech which has come to pervade the English literature of China, "spirit" is used in the sense of *god*; but classical Latin will not suffer *spiritus* to take the meaning of *deus* at the bidding of translators.*

It is conceded on all hands that *T'ien* (天), heaven, is used by the Chinese as an approximate equivalent for God. In order to illustrate and corroborate the foregoing argument, I will cite a few examples of the use of *T'ien* (天) in correlation with *jên* (人):—

1. 事由天定, 不由人算. 俗語.

Events depend on the appointment of Heaven, not on the purposes of men.

2. 瞞得過人, 瞞不過天. 俗語.

You may deceive men, but you cannot deceive Heaven.

3. 盡人事, 而聽天命. 文章.

Do your duty as a man, and await the appointment of Heaven.

* The same style of speech prevails to a limited extent with some Western writers, who have treated of the beings worshipped by savage tribes, especially those who worship ancestors. This is the result of strong monotheistic instincts which dislike to degrade the word god by using it so freely. The term "Great Spirit" is commonly used of the gods worshipped by the North American Indians, but it is not a translation of any Indian term. It was first used by the early Jesuit missionaries. The word used by most tribes of American Indians is *manitou*. One of the best living authorities on Indian languages writes me that "*manitou* is properly translated *gods*."

4. 謀事在人,成事在天. 俗語.
"*Man proposes, but Heaven disposes.*"

5. 不怨天,不尤人. 俗語.
Neither murmur at Heaven nor hate men.

6. 人見目前,天見久遠. 俗語.
Men see what is near at hand, Heaven sees what is far away.

7. 人有善願,天必從之.
When men have good desires, Heaven will surely accord with them.

8. 扭得過人,扭不過天. 俗語.
You may coerce men, but you cannot coerce Heaven.

9. 人善人欺天不欺;人惡人怕天不怕. 俗語.
A good man, men may wrong, but Heaven does not; a bad man, men may fear, but Heaven does not.

10. 人間私語,天聞若雷,暗中虧心,神目如電. 感應篇.
The secret words of men thunder in the ears of Heaven, the evil deeds of darkness flash in the eyes of the gods.

Let it be noted how exactly the term *T'ien* in these sentences fills the place filled by *Shên* in the former ones. In fact *Shên* may be substituted for *T'ien* in any one of them, without either violating the idiom, or changing the sense; thus showing conclusively that the two terms mean the same thing, and fill the same place in the Chinese mind, viz, divinity. In several of them the Chinese sometimes use *T'ien*, and sometimes *Shên*, as is notably the case with the second one. Also in the last one, as well as in the last one of the previous list, *Shên* and *T'ien* are used in the parallel parts of the sentence with precisely the same sense. If there were any doubt as to the proper translation of *Shên* in the previous sentences, the parallel use of *T'ien* in these is surely enough to remove it, and to confirm beyond dispute this proof that *Shên* means god.

If *Shên* really means spirit generically, it ought to be found used in correlation with words meaning matter, making with it the logical antithesis of *matter* and *spirit*. Those who are familiar with Chinese literature will no doubt be ready to reply that such examples are not hard to find. That *Shên* is frequently used in correlation with *hsing* 形, *wu* 物, etc., is of course granted, but that the correlation makes the logical antithesis of matter and spirit, is by no means granted. This raises a point of some importance, and in order to clear it up, it will be necessary to go into some detail and anticipate in part what will be more fully discussed in subsequent chapters, viz., the use of *Shên* for the soul of nature and for the soul of man.

When *Shên* is correlated with *wu* 物 (thing), and occasionally when correlated with *hsing* 形 (form), it means the Soul of Nature,

that divine and indivisible spirit which is supposed to pervade all things, and the correlation is between *God* and *nature*. When *Shên* is correlated with *shên* 身 (body), with *ti* 體 (corporeity), and in most cases when correlated with *hsing* 形 (form), it means the divine soul in man, and the correlation is between body and soul. Let us consider these usages separately in order.

In order to illustrate the first I will cite a number of examples:—

1. 地物也,天神也,物無踰神之理,顧有地斯有天,若其配爾然. 正蒙.

Earth is material, Heaven is divine. There is no such principle as that the material should transcend the divine, so that earth existing, Heaven also exists, being as it were its mate.

2. 動而無靜靜而無動物也,靜而無靜動而無動神也. 通書.

That which moving does not (of itself) come to rest, and resting does not (of itself) move, is matter; that which rests without (previously) being at rest, and moves without (previously) being in motion, is divinity.

3. 神則不離於形,而不囿於形矣. 通書.

The divine spirit does not exist apart from form, yet is not limited by form.

4. 物則不通,神妙萬物. 通書.

Nature is not sentient, but the divine spirit fills all nature with wonders.

5. 火日外光能直而施,金水內光能闢而受,受者隨材各得,施者所應無窮,神與形天與地之道歟. 正蒙.

Fire is the external light of the sun, and has the property of radiating and diffusing itself. Metal is the internal light of water and has the property of dissolving and absorbing. That which absorbs, acquires whatever touches it; that which diffuses itself, reacts without limit. This is the philosophy of the "oversoul" (Shên) and matter, of heaven and earth.

It must be evident I think to any one who looks attentively at these examples, that *Shên* is very far from making with *wu* (物) and *hsing* (形) the antithesis of matter and spirit, when the latter is understood generically. The characteristics and attributes here ascribed to *Shên* are not such as can be predicated of spirit simply as such, but must pertain to the *divine spirit*, or supposed soul of nature; thus the correlation is between corporeal nature and the divine soul which is supposed to pervade it. The classification is similar to that which we make with the words God (understood in a pantheistic sense) and nature. This is especially the case when *wu* (物) is used. When *hsing* (形) is used, the idea is figurative, being borrowed from the body and soul of man—external nature is the corporeal form of which the divine spirit is the animating soul—"the oversoul." Dr. Medhurst. in translating the article on *Shên* in

the Imperial Thesaurus, 佩文韻府, found an example of *Shên* and *hsing* correlated on which he lays considerable stress as proving that *Shên* means spirit. It is quoted from the 化書, or Book of Transformations; and is as follows: 太上者虛無之神也,天地者陰陽之神也,人畜者血肉之神也,其同者神其異者形.

*The divine essense residing in space (when embodied), is the great supreme; the divine essence residing in the dual ether (when embodied), is heaven and earth; the divine essence residing in flesh and blood (when embodied), is men and beasts; that in which these agree, is their divine essence (Shên); that in which they differ, is their form.**

This translation is somewhat different from that of Dr. Medhurst, but it gives what is believed to be the true sense. The whole extract is a categorical statement of pure pantheism. Even if any insist on rendering *Shên* by "Spirit" the sense remains the same. That in which the three things mentioned agree, is the "spirit" residing in them, that is, it is one and the same spirit embodied in different forms. It will not do to say that that in which these things agree is in their having "*a* spirit," for they equally agree in having *a* form, and thus the opposition is lost. The very point of the opposition is that the "spirit" is the same "spirit," but the form is not the same form. Thus we are taught that all "spirit" in the universe, from the great supreme above to men and beasts below, is *one* "spirit," than which it would be hard to find a more comprehensive statement of thorough-going pantheism. From this view we understand the correlation. It is between the universal soul and its material embodiment.

According to the theory of pantheism "god" includes all spiritual being, so that if the word *Shên* be taken to mean "spirit" it includes in these cases all "spirits;" but such a use is in no proper sense a generic use. Instead of distinguishing and classifying as a generic term does, it combines and asserts a simple unity. Spirit *in this sense* is nothing else than the Pantheist's God. To build on such usage the notion that *Shên* means "spirit," is to misconstrue Chinese metaphysical theories and confound things that are radically distinct. A similar theory of the universe was held by the Greek philosophers, and we find them classifying all existence as "Matter and God." Thus Cudworth says: "The Stoics and many others held the co-existence of an incorporeal deity and of matter." Diogenes Laertius says: "Plato lays down two primary principles of all

* Dr. Medhurst's translation is as follows: "The spirit of the great supreme, is the spirit of the wide expanse; the spirit of heaven and earth, is the spirit of the superior and inferior forms of matter; the spirit of men and beasts, is the spirit of flesh and blood, that in which they resemble each other, is spirit; but that in which they differ, is form." It should be noted that 同 means more than "resemblance;" it means oneness or agreement.

things—go and madtter." Again he says: "The Stoics think that there are two principles in the universe—the active and the passive, that the passive is matter—an existence without any distinctive quality, that the active is the reason existing in matter—that is, God." How completely does Greek usage confirm the above interpretation of the meaning of the word *Shên?* *Matter* and *spirit* (*πνευμα*) are never used in Greek either in the form of correlation or of classification, for, like the Chinese, they had no generic word for spirit. When they did not say god or demon they said mind, or soul, or reason, or fate, or simply "the incorporeal." The Chinese use reason or fate (理) in the same way, and much more frequently than the Greeks. They also use mind (心) occasionally. The peculiar structure of their Psychology forbids the use of the word soul in this way. They substitute for it the compound term *Kwei Shên* (鬼神), which, when thus used, means the *divine spirit* (in nature) rather than God (as used in English). Its meaning is somewhat similar to that of the Greek *δαιμων*, the intenser Pantheism of the Chinese making its use much more frequent. The precise force of *Shên* in such connections will be more fully discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The other form of correlation is that with *hsing* (形), *t'i* (體) and *shên* (身), forming the antithesis of body and soul. The correlation with *t'i* and *shên* is comparatively rare, that with *hsing* is frequent. The following examples will serve to illustrate:—

1. 故修性以保神, 安心以全身. 文選

Therefore cultivate your nature, so as to preserve your (divine) soul; compose your mind, so as to perfect your body.

2. 是故身處江海之上,而神遊魏闕之下,非得一原孰能至於此哉. 淮南子.

Hence while his (the ideal man's) body rests on the rivers and seas, his (divine) soul roams afar into the celestial mansions. If its origin were not one (with Heaven) how could it accomplish this?

3. 專精銳志,神迷體倦. 文選博奕論.

When a man holds his attention to one point with intense purpose, his (divine) mind becomes stupefied and his body wearied.

4. 形歸窀穸,神返室堂. 家禮.

The physical frame returns to the grave, and the (divine) soul to the ancestral hall.

5. 凡人所生者神也, 所託者形也, 神大用則竭, 形大勞則斃. 史記.

Everything that is born of man, is spirit; that which sustains it, is the body; when the spirit is used to excess, it becomes enfeebled; when the body is overwearied, it succumbs.

6. 形銷神滅欵爲一棺之土.

When the physical frame dissolves, the divine soul disappears, and presently there is nothing left but a coffin of earth.

In all these examples the correlation is evidently between body, and soul or spirit, that is, between the corporeal form of man and his divine soul or spirit. I say *divine* soul because *shên* in this connection means more than the human soul simply as such. It includes as part of its meaning the idea that the soul is divine, an integral part of the oversoul, which is the god of pantheism. The meaning is only approximately expressed by the phrase *divine soul*. This correlation between body and soul is very different from that between matter and spirit. In the one case the words are specific, having particular reference to man, in the other they are generic, denoting classes of existence. The generic sense of the word spirit is that on which the question turns; and nothing but this sense, found in correlation with matter or form, can avail to show that *shên* means properly spirit. I do not think this correlation can be found in Chinese literature. Every case of correlation with *hsing* (形) or *wu* (物) will turn out on examination to be either body and soul, or nature and its divine soul, neither of which fulfils the conditions of the argument.

It may perhaps be said that it is equally impossible to find examples of ling(靈) and *hsing* (形) used correlatively for matter and spirit. No doubt it is, and for the very reason that *ling* is not used generically in the sense of spirit, nor is any other word in the Chinese language. Like other heathen nations the Chinese have failed to make this generalization, and of course there is no word in their language for its expression; as was once the case with the English language.

Another natural correlative of god is devil or demon, which in Chinese is *kwei* 鬼. This correlation is not so frequent or so marked among heathen as among Christian nations, for the reason that they do not so sharply distinguish, nor so frequently contrast, gods and devils. Among polytheistic nations, and still more where pantheistic ideas prevail, the two classes so run into each other that the distinction is, in some cases, not clearly marked; as was conspicuously the case with the Greeks. Notwithstanding this, however, an important distinction exists between the two words, a distinction which is continually coming out with more or less prominence. The following examples will serve to illustrate the correlation of *shên* with *kwei*:—

1. 見鬼見神. 俗語.

To see demons and gods.

2. 神出鬼沒. 俗諺.
When the god appears, the devil vanishes.

3. 強神惡鬼不可爭奪. 俗語.
Let no violent god or wicked demon snatch away (our offerings).

4. 神差鬼使. 俗語.
Send by the gods, through the ministry of demons.

5. 搗鬼弄神. 俗語.
To manœuvre like a devil and manage like a god.

6. 家神弄家鬼. 俗語.
The household gods lord it over the household demons.

7. 拜神不可得罪於鬼. 俗語.
In worshipping the gods, take care not to offend the demons (their underlings).

8. 能上大神手裏去燒香, 不可上小鬼手裏去磕頭. 俗語.
It is better to burn incense to a great god, than to bow down to a little demon.

9. 寧可得罪於神, 不可得罪於鬼. 俗語.
It is better to offend a god than a demon.

10. 若像神聰明, 不該說鬼話. 醒世良方.
If he has the wisdom of a god, he should not talk the language of a demon.

11. 夏道尊命事鬼敬神而遠之. 禮記.
The doctrine of Hsia was to obey the will of Heaven, serve the demons, and respect the gods, keeping at a distance from them.

12. 先在家裏筵席神, 再祭海邊淹死鬼. 俗語.
First feast the gods at home, and then sacrifice on the sea shore to the souls of the drowned.

13. 財神廟裏無窮鬼. 俗語.
There are no poor devils in the temple of the god of wealth.

14. 小鬼怎能調動老家神. 俗語.
How can a little devil order about the old household god.

15. 生前能不見鬼, 死後難不見神. 雜記.
Though you may escape seeing demons during life, yet after death it will be hard for you to avoid facing the gods.

The correlation here exhibited is neither accidental nor fanciful. It is natural, forcible, and eminently suggestive. Let the reader mark how the word demon (*kwei*) is here used in fair contrast with *shên*, and then judge whether according to the common custom of other languages, and the natural sequence of human thought, its corresponding word is not god. The word *kwei* has been accepted by all parties in China as the proper word for devil and demon, and it is difficult to see any good reason why its natural correlative, *shên*, should not be accepted for god.* Spirits and demons do not

*It is not, of course, held that *kwei* means precisely what is meant by our word demon, yet it is its analogue and is the nearest and best translation that our language affords. Moreover, if demon be taken in the original sense, unmodified by Christianity, it is very nearly the equivalent of *kwei*.

naturally form a correlation, but the reverse. The one word includes the other, and thus precludes the idea of placing them in antithesis. When the whole body of missionaries accepted *kwei* for *devil*, they committed themselves by every principle of philology and logic to accept *shên* for god, and its rejection is a vain struggle against the normal usage of the Chinese language and the natural relations of human thought.

III. CLASSIFICATION.

That Shên means god and not spirit is proved by the classification it forms with jên (人) *and with kwei* (鬼).

The words *shên, jen,* and *kwei* are not only separated for the purpose of correlation, but they are also joined together for the purpose of classification. Amongst all heathen peoples the common classification of intelligent beings has been gods, devils, and men. Angels as a separate class are confined to Christianity and Mohammedanism. This classification is undoubtedly made in Chinese by the words *shên, kwei, and jên*. The Chinese language delights in pairs, hence we find these terms used chiefly in pairs. The following are examples of *shên* and *jên* used in this way:—

1. 神人共聽. 戲臺匾.
Both gods and men hear.
2. 神人共悅. 戲臺匾.
Both gods and men are delighted.
3. 神人共憤. 俗語.
Both gods and men are enraged.
4. 神人以和 書經.
Gods and men are brought into harmony.
5. 肅恭神人. 書經.
Courteous and respectful to gods and men.
6. 治神人.
He regulated (the ceremonies relating to) *gods and men.*
7. 以享神人. 左傳.
By which (their virtues) *they* (the sages) *affected both gods and men.*
8. 人神之所共嫉. 古文.
That which both men and gods hate.
9. 上古之世神人相通. 古文.
In ancient times there was communication between gods and men.
10. 弑父弑君神人並誅. 妙色經.
The murderer of a parent or a prince is punished by both gods and men.
11. 人神咫尺. 北齊皇夏樂.
There is but a short remove between men and gods.

In these sentences the translation of *shên* by "gods" is in the highest degree natural, and even necessary. Gods are the highest and most important of "spiritual beings," as men are of material beings. Hence gods and men is a classification common in all heathen nations, as is God and man in Christian nations. It will perhaps be said that *shên* in these sentences may with equal propriety be translated "spirits," making the classification of spirits and men. This classification *might* be used it is true, but it is not one commonly used by heathen nations, and a little examination will show that it is not the one used in these sentences. The term spirits is too comprehensive. It includes besides the *shên* also *kwei* and other beings associated with them, as 仙, genii; 妖, imps; 魅, brownies, etc. The fourth sentence above does not mean that all these classes were brought into harmony with men. Nor does the sixth sentence mean that the *Tsung Pei* regulated the ceremonies relating to all manner of spiritual beings—good, bad, and indifferent. So also in the tenth sentence it is certainly not meant that the murderer of parent or prince is condemned by wicked as well as by good spirits, by devils as well as by gods. The same principles apply to all the other sentences. In order to give a good and suitable sense, the *shên* must be limited to a certain class of "spiritual beings," viz., to those possessing virtue, power, and rank, hence it cannot be rendered *spirits*, but must be rendered *gods*. In order to show that this classification is perfectly natural and common with heathen nations, I will cite a few illustrations from the Greek and Latin classics.

"Neither gods nor men will venture to say that the doer of evil is not to be punished." PLATO—*Euthydemus*.

"And he would provide the good, as he would know how to deal with gods or men." PLATO—*Laches*.

"The true lie is hated of gods and men." PLATO—*Republic*.

"The overwhelming contempt of gods and men." PLATO—*Republic*.

"Things (the furies) hated by men and Olympian gods." AESCHYLES—*Furies*.

"For as soon as a king assumes an unjust and despotic power, he instantly becomes a tyrant, than which nothing baser or fouler, than which no imaginable animal can be more detestable to gods or men." CICERO—*Commonwealth*.

"If nobody were to know, nobody even to suspect, that you were doing anything for the sake of riches, power, dominion, lust, if it would be forever unknown to gods and men, would you do it?" CICERO—*Offices*.

Such examples might be multiplied to almost any extent, while a single example of such classification as "spirits and men" will probably be sought in vain.

The use of *shên* and *kwei* in the way of classification is exceedingly common both in written and in spoken Chinese. Sometimes we find *shên kwei* as the order, but much more frequently *kwei shên*. I will first illustrate by citing examples of *shên kwei*. This combination not being the usual one (used pantheistically the term is always *kwei shên*) is evidently adopted in order to bring out the personal idea, showing that two classes of personal beings are referred to:—

1. 世上人心原不小,堆金積玉還嫌少,貪得便招神鬼惱. 快心編.

The plans of men are not small; they gather gold and jewels and are never satisfied until finally their covetousness draws on them the anger of gods and demons.

2. 人生却莫把心欺,神鬼昭彰放過誰. 西遊記.

Let no living man violate his conscience. Who has ever escaped the manifest retribution of gods and demons?

3. 不生而識者,神鬼是也. 祕書.

Gods and demons are such as have intelligence without being born (into the world).

4. 心如槁木純無欲神鬼聞之皆敬服. 信心錄.

The mind as free from lust as is dry wood, when gods and demons perceive they all approve.

5. 筆端雖巧神鬼難欺. 信心錄.

Although he wields a clever pen, yet gods and demons are hard to cheat.

6. 細看書詞眞有神鬼不測之兆. 异仙傳.

Carefully examining the language of the book, there were in it in very truth the mysterious portents of gods and demons.

7. 神鬼保佑,必然興旺. 家寶.

With gods and demons protecting you, you will certainly prosper.

8. 人一舉心動念不獨神鬼俱知卽慧明之人無不悉見. 家寶.

As soon as a thought arises in the heart, not only do gods and demons know it, but even a discerning man can perceive it.

The following are examples of *kwei* and *shên* used in the same way. The number might be increased to any extent. In the metaphysical, mystical, and cosmological speculations of the Chinese, this compound term *kwei shên* is constantly recurring, but it almost always designates the supposed indwelling universal soul of nature. The combination thus used is impersonal, and hence belongs to the

second general division of the subject, where it will be fully considered. At present we have only to do with such uses as are personal, the combination forming a classification of living beings.

9. 天道福善禍淫,鬼神其能違天乎. 易學啓蒙.

The law of Heaven is to reward the good and punish the wicked. Would the demons and the gods oppose heaven?

10. 災罰懸乎天道,吉凶灼乎鬼神,固可畏也. 文選.

Calamities and punishments depend on the law of heaven; good and bad fortune are revealed by demons and gods. Of course they are to be feared.

11. 鬼神福善之妙用,豈人所能測耶. 信心錄.

Can men understand the marvellous way in which demons and gods reward the good?

12. 這樣沒良心的人只怕怨氣積聚鬼神也不肯饒你.

If you are so destitute of conscience as this, it is to be feared you will heap up hatred against yourself, and demons and gods will not be willing to excuse you.

13. 好談閨門及好談亂者,必爲鬼神所怒,非有奇禍則有奇窮.

He who is given to talking about women, and he who is given to discussing rebellion, will certainly stir up the anger of demons and gods, and if not visited with remarkable calamities will be exceptionally poor.

14. 今人偶行一善必欲獲報,少不如意則曰天道難知,暫時爲惡心懷不安,久不見譴則曰鬼神不足憑信. 文昌帝君救世文.

At the present time when a man happens to do anything good, he wants an immediate reward; when some little thing does not suit him, he says the way of Heaven is hard to comprehend; when he occasionally does wrong, his mind is disturbed; and when he experiences no reproof, he says there is no sufficient evidence of the existence of demons and gods.

Nearly all of the above examples bring clearly into view the agency of the gods in the moral government of men, thus showing clearly that the terms are used personally. Demon as a translation of *kwei* should be taken rather in its original Greek sense than as modified by Christianity. Those who understand *shên* to mean spirit, are accustomed to translate 神鬼 and 鬼神 "*spiritual beings*," not making any special distinction, but combining the two terms into one idea. This accords with the theory in question, but it suppresses a very important distinction, one which the Chinese have often insisted on and explained. The words are two and so also are the ideas. Nor does the one limit the other. *shên kwei* does not mean *spiritual demons*, nor does *kwei shên* mean *demoniacal*

spirits. The two words are a pair; the generic names for two great classes which when put together are commonly taken as including all invisible beings, but which when considered separately are far from being synonymous. The chief points of distinction between them are three: First, the *shên*, are good, the *kwei* are bad; second, the *shên* are superior (in knowledge and power), the *kwei* are inferior; and third, the *shên* are officers, each having original jurisdiction in his sphere, the *kwei* are underlings, whose business it is to serve. The distinction of good and bad, though not absolutely universal, is very nearly so, giving unmistakeable character to the two words. The distinction of superior and inferior is well nigh, if not absolutely universal. Taken together these three points, though not exhaustive, are sufficient to establish a clear and wide distinction between the words. What then do we learn from this classification, so often found in Chinese books, and so often heard in the mouths of the Chinese people? We learn from it this important fact, that *shên* does not mean *simply spirit* and *nothing more*. If it does mean simply spirit and nothing more, then what is the classification which it makes when joined with *kwei*, which is conceded to mean demon? "*Spirits and demons.*" A strange classification this, in which one word includes the other. No matter what sort of a "*spiritual being*" *kwei* is held to mean, "spirit" includes it, and the classification is a logical absurdity. Clearly *shen* must mean something more than *spirit*. If it means *something* more than simply spirit, it is of course in order to ask what that *something* is. What it is we readily learn by comparing it with *kwei*, the word with which it stands related. From this comparison we learn that it means more than simply spirit, in that it means a *good* spirit, a *wise* spirit, a *powerful* spirit, and a spirit having an *official position*. Now I submit that a good spirit possessed of wisdom and power, and holding an official position, is a very respectable heathen god, and further if these attributes be made superlative in degree, we have unmistakeably the true God, the God of the Bible.

This classification is also found in the Greek classics, though not with anything like as great frequency as in Chinese. The reason of its frequency in Chinese, is the fact that the terms are connected with the dualism which so largely pervades Chinese language and thought. This classification is not found in classic Latin, because it had no word for demon. The following are a few specimens from Greek:—

1. "Where is any god or demon to succor me?" EURIPIDES—*Hecuba*.

2. "Bearest thou new intelligence from some of the gods from Jove, or is it from some of the demons?" EURIPIDES—*Troades*.

3. "But hither above the summit of the house appear some demons or heavenly gods. EURIPIDES—*Electra*.

Such a classification as "spirits" and demons cannot be found in Greek classical literature.

IV. REVERENTIAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SHÊN.

That Shên means god rather than spirit is shown by the language used and the acts performed with reference to the shên.

Man is a religious being, and his religious nature has for its object god or the gods. It expresses itself in language and acts which have been substantially the same in all ages and nations. If therefore the language and acts by which the Chinese give expression to their religious nature, center on the word *shên*, this fact furnishes a very cogent proof that *shên* means god. To show that this is the fact I offer the following citations. They are somewhat numerous, owing to the breadth of the subject, yet they are only specimens of thousands that could be furnished. For the sake of greater perspicuity I have divided them into classes.

I. To serve, to minister to. 事, 奉, 馭.

(1). 魏主曰若能以道事神不迎自來. 通鑑綱目.

The Lord of Wei said, if you are able to serve the gods as they should be served, they will come without inviting.

(2). 至於武王,昭前之光明而加之以慈和. 事神保民莫不欣喜. 穆天子傳.

As to king Wu he shed luster on the glory of the past, adding to it mercy and peace. There was nothing concerning the serving of the gods or the governing of the people, in which he did not delight.

(3). 古者先王既有天下, 又崇立上帝明神而敬事之. 國語.

The ancient rulers, when they obtained the kingdom, instituted the worship of the illustrious god Shang Ti and reverently served him.

(4). 盡心爲民爲忠, 誠實事神爲信. 左傳註.

To labor for the people with all the heart, is loyalty; to serve the gods with sincerity, is faithfulness.

(5). 至事神治人亦非敬不可也. 書經註.

As to serving the gods and governing the people, it is impossible to succeed without reverence.

(6). 前廟以奉神, 後寢以藏衣. 詩經註.

The temple in front is for ministering to the gods, and the sleeping hall behind is for storing the (sacred) vestments.

(7). 王社內有壇以奉神, 外有壝以爲垣. 周禮.

Within the royal demesne was an altar for the worship of the gods, and without was an embankment which served as a wall.

(8). 一曰祭祀以馭其神. 周禮.

One is sacrifice which is presented to the gods.

(11). To worship, honor, reverence, respect. 禮,拜,敬,尊,恭.

(1). 禮不止交神,而以交神爲主. 書經註.

Worship includes more than communion with the gods, yet communion with the gods is the chief part of it.

(2). 禮神謂祭天也. 文選註.

By worshipping god (or the gods) is meant sacrificing to Heaven.

(3). 我也爲民之憂而求助於神,凡可以禮祀者皆未嘗絕之. 詩經註.

I also, on account of the distress of the people, have sought help of the gods. There are none that may be worshipped by sacrifices that I have not sought to.

(4). 此言主祭者十日齋戒帶劍佩玉以禮神也. 屈子註.

This is said of the master of sacrifices, who fasted ten days, girded on his sword and put on his jewels in order to worship the gods.

(5). 列行善之目,曰敬天地,禮神明,奉祖先,孝雙親,守王法,重師尊. 文昌帝君救世文.

The list of good works is:—respect heaven and earth, worship the gods, honor your ancestors, obey your parents, keep the laws, and respect your teachers.

(6). 見神佛不禮拜爲一過. 信心錄.

To see a god or a Buddha and not worship is a sin.

(7). 李元茂已高高的作了一個揖,然後徐徐跪下如拜神的,拜了四拜. 品花寶鑑.

Li Yuen-mao having made a profound bow, afterwards reverently kneeled down and made obeisance four times, after the manner of one worshipping the gods.

(8). 襄子再拜受三神之令 史記.

Hsiang Tsï worshipped again, and received the commands of the three gods.

(9). 民奉其君,愛之如父母,仰之如日月敬之如神明,畏之如雷霆. 通鑑綱目.

The people honor their prince, loving him as father and mother, looking up to him as to the sun and moon, reverencing him as they do the gods and fearing him as they do the thunder.

(10). 務民之義,敬鬼神而遠之,可謂知矣. 論語

To have a care for the virtue of the people, to reverence the gods yet keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom.

(11). 敬而不瀆,故神降之嘉福. 國語.

He revereneed the gods and did not blaspheme them, therefore they sent down good things.

(12). 祭服必致美者,所以恭敬乎鬼神. 論語註.

Sacrificial vestments should be the best in order to show respect to the gods.

(13). 皇帝祇肅舊禮,尊重神明,卽告于祖宗,而不敢失. 前漢.

The Emperor carefully observing the old forms, and reverently honoring the gods, thus made announcement to his ancestors, not daring to omit anything.

(14). 殷人尊神率民以事神. 禮記.

The men of Yin (the imperial family) honored the gods and led the people also to serve the gods.

(15). 敢請尊靈降居神位,恭神奠獻遂燎脂于爐炭上. 性理大全.

"*I venture to invite the honorable spirit to descend to your divine seat,*" *and doing reverence to the god with libations and offerings, he forthwith burned the fat upon the coals.*

(16). 禮者君之大柄也,所以別嫌,明微,儐鬼神,考制度,別仁義. 禮記.

Rites are the chief reliance of princes. By them suspicions are avoided, secrets are revealed, the gods are honored, laws are tested, and mercy and justice are distinguished.

(III). To pray, beseech, supplicate, ask of, implore, petition. 祈, 禱, 祝, 求, 告, 索, 乞, 徵.

(1). 昔虢公祈神,神賜之土田. 孔叢子.

In ancient times Prince Kuo prayed to the god, and the god gave him land.

(2). 羣臣請祈禱神祇. 通鑑綱目.

The host of princes asked him to pray to the gods of heaven and earth.

(3). 使太祝祈神只求早死. 東周列國志.

He sent the chaplain to pray that he might speedily die.

(4). 禱者悔過遷善以祈神之佑也. 四書味根錄.

To pray is to repent and reform in order to beseech the protection of god (or the gods.)

(5). 乃請自以身禱於神. 史記.

He (the general) asked the king himself to pray to the gods.

(6). 不料服藥無功,禱神不效. 快心編.

Unexpe tedly the medicine was ineffectua', and prayers to the gods were unavailing.

(7). 只好心裏轉念,暗祝神明護却. 快心編.

There is no way but to change your mind and invoke the protection of the gods.

(8). 祝神無驗. 信心錄.

He invoked the gods without effect.

(9). 孔氏曰請神加殃謂之詛,以言告神謂之祝. 書經註.

K'ung says: To ask the gods to send punishment, is to curse; to supplicate the gods with words, is to bless.

(10). 齋戒以告鬼神. 史記.

He fasted and purified himself, in order to petition the gods.

(11). 爲有災變,號呼告於神以求福. 周禮會通註.

Because of the disasters and revolutions he cried aloud to the gods and prayed for a blessing.

(12). 祝史奉牲以告神. 古文觀止.

The chaplain presented victims, so as to petition the gods.

(13). 要誓以告神. 左傳註.

He wished to take an oath in order to make it known to the gods.

(14). 孝子求神非一處也. 通鑑綱目.

Not in one place only does the dutiful son pray to the gods.

(15). 求神自秦始皇漢武始. 通鑑綱目.

Praying to the gods (for immortality) began from Ch'in Shï-hwang and Han Wu.

(16). 今朝立志行善,明日就望福報,求神感應. 率性闡微.

This morning you resolve to be good, and to-morrow you expect your reward and pray to the gods to respond.

(17). 呪咀者誓於神也, 求直者求神速報也. 信心錄.

To curse is to call on the gods with an oath. To invoke justice is to call on the gods for quick revenge.

(18). 夫國有凶荒,則索鬼神而祭之,以求消災弭禍之應. 詩經註.

When there is famine in the land, they (the princes) seek to the gods with sacrifices, praying for a response which will remove the calamity.

(19). 索鬼神爲民祈福, 除盜賊爲民去害. 周禮精義.

He (the king) seeks to the gods to implore blessing for the people, and exterminates robbers so as to remove evil from the people.

(20). 若寶下地命也有殃, 乞神昭鑒將寶歸藏. 咫聞錄.

If the ingot (of silver) should fall to the earth it might injure life, so he prayed to the gods to watch over it, and returned the ingot to its place.

(21). 宋襄公圖霸,故使邾殺鄫子爲犧牲以祭之,欲徼福于神,以屬東夷之衆. 左傳註.

Hsiang, the prince of Sung, planned to usurp the empire, and therefore ordered (the prince of) Chu to kill the prince of Tsêng and offer him as a sacrificial victim, for the purpose of invoking a blessing from the gods, and bringing into subjection the host of the eastern barbarians.

(22). 王之職主於敎民而已,徼福於神非王之事也. 書經註.

The duty of a king is simply to strive for the good of the people; imploring blessings from the gods is not his business.

(IV). To sacrifice, present offerings, offer to. 祭,祀,獻,供,享,祠.

(1). 祭如在,祭神如神在. 論語.

Sacrifice to ancestors as if they were present, and to the gods as if they were present.

(2). 楚茨極言祭祀所以事神受福之節. 詩經註.

The Ch'u Tz'ï section fully sets forth sacrifices as being the rites by which the gods are served and blessings obtained.

(3). 南方人常食蠃蜂, 得人之由則用以祭神, 復以其骨爲醬而食之. 楚辭.

The people of the south practice eating mussels, and if they obtain human flesh they offer it to the gods, and afterwards make soup of the bones and eat it.

(4). 天子祭海內之神. 博物志.

The Emperor sacrifices to the gods within the (four) seas.

(5). 神事祭祀也. 國語.

The affairs of the gods, that is, sacrifices.

(6). 祭祀以事神, 飲食以養生, 喪紀以送死, 皆有禁令, 不得失禮法也. 周禮精義.

Sacrifices are for the service of the gods, food and drink for supporting the living, funeral rites for disposing of the dead,—all have their rules, and the appropriate order must not be neglected.

(7). 古者祀神, 神卽降之. 穆傳註疏.

When the ancients sacrificed to the gods, the gods descended.

(8). 故有五行之官實列受氏姓, 封爲上公, 祀爲貴神. 左傳.

Hence these are the rules of the five elements, who are, in fact, arranged under names and surnames, being appointed to be high princes and to be sacrificed to as superior gods.

(9). 享牛, 獻神之牛. 周禮精義.

A votive cow is a cow to be offered to the gods.

(10). 詩曰佩玉鏘鏘, 言己供神有道 文選.

The Book of Poetry speaks of wearing the tinkling jewels, which indicates that in making offerings to the gods there is a rule.

(11). 香必潔淨, 方可供神. 信心錄.

Incense must be clean if one would offer it to the gods.

(12). 壽宮, 供神之處. 經餘必讀.

The longevity temple is a place for presenting offerings to the gods.

(13). 夏四月幸不其祠神人于交門功. 前漢.

In the summer in the fourth month the Emperor came to Pu-ch'i and sacrificed to the divine man at Chiao-mên-kung.

(14). 糈米所以享神. 經餘必讀.

The fine rice is for offering to the gods.

(v). To communicate with, to have intercourse with, to reach. 通, 交, 達.

(1). 孔子曰, 孝弟之至, 通於神明, 光於四海. 信心錄.

Confucius says the perfectly dutiful have communion with the gods, and their reputation spreads over the world.

(2). 帝欲與神通, 宮室被服不似神, 則神物不至. 神仙鑑.

The Emperor wishes to communicate with the gods, but if the temple and vestments are not appropriate to the gods, then the gods will not hear.

(3). 宓戲氏之所以順天地,通神明,類萬物之情也. 前漢.

By which Mi Hsi harmonized heaven and earth, communicated with the gods, and arranged everything according to its nature.

(4). 眞正是錢能通神,不多一會王太放出. 昇仙傳.

In very deed money can reach the gods, for in a short time Wang T'ai was released.

(5). 齋所以交神故致潔. 上論註.

Purification is in order to hold intercourse with the gods, hence cleanliness is necessary.

(6). 古之祭者七日戒三日齋,致其誠敬以交於神明. 王陽明全集.

When the ancients sacrificed they practised abstinence seven days and fasted three days, so as to secure sincerity and reverence in order thus to hold communion with the gods.

(7). 今世之孝子慈親各盡心以達神明. 夢遊集.

In these days dutiful sons and affectionate parents each do their utmost to reach the gods.

(VI). To move, to influence, to call down. 感, 格, 降.

(1). 書曰至誠感神. 通鑑綱目.

The Shu(Ching) says, Perfect sincerity moves the gods.

(2). 此是祝願之詞,重士之能感神不重神之能福士. 詩經註.

This is the language of prayer. Stress is laid on the fact that the supplicant can move the gods, not on the fact that the gods can bless the supplicant.

(3). 此皆禮神之物,不敢有加於舊,而祝史告必以誠信,或者感格神明而可以戰乎. 古文觀止.

These all are things for the worship of the gods, and we must not venture to add to the old custom, but the chaplain must be sincere in making supplication, and perhaps they may be moved and we can give battle.

(4). 夫事有終始,而敬無間斷,則所以格神者有道矣,由是神之格思自錫以胡考之休. 詩經註.

Things have a beginning and an end, but piety is unceasing, and the means of moving the gods is consonant with right reason, hence when the gods descend they give the blessing of long life.

(5). 椒香物所以降神. 屈子註.

Shu is a sort of incense used to call down the gods.

(6). 用鬱鬯灌地以降神,則惟天子諸侯有之. 性理大全.

Use the thick wine to pour out an oblation on the earth, which only the Emperor and the princes may do, in order to induce the gods to descend.

(7). 催性喜鬼怪左道之術,常有道人及女巫歌謳擊鼓下神.

Hwoă by nature delighted in marvels and heretical devices. He constantly had priests and sorceresses chanting and drumming to bring down the gods.

(8). 我有召軍符役召鬼神. 神仙鑑.

I have a summon-soldier-charm which I use to summon gods.

(9). 聞直塘道士能召神. 信心錄.

He heard that in Chih T'ang there was a priest that could call down the gods.

(VII). To praise, celebrate the praises of. 頌, 讚, 美.

(1). 夫頌以告神明者也. 詩經註.

Chanting is in order to make known our mind to the gods.

(2). 此蓋更爲衆人之詞以讚神之美. 楚辭.

This again is the language of all in praising the excellence of the gods.

(3). 假言周于天地讚于神明. 前漢.

To avail of, means spreading through heaven and earth and giving praise to the gods.

(4). 登歌再終,下奏休成之樂,美神明既饗也. 前漢.

Having ascended (the platform) and sung again, they descended and chanted the propitiatory song, praising the gods for having accepted the sacrifices.

(VIII). To thank. 謝, 酬, 賽.

(1). 因復向神明拜謝. 快心初集.

Hence he turned again to the gods and gave thanks.

(2). 遣王欽若奉詔往玉泉山祠下,致祭以謝神功. 搜神記.

He (the Emperor) *sent Wang Ch'in Joă with a dispatch to the ancestral temple on the Yü Chüen Mountain, to offer sacrifice as a thankoffering for the services of the gods.*

(3). 均議各出分金,演戲酬神. 咫聞錄.

All agreed together to give each a quota of silver to celebrate a theatrical and thank the gods.

(4). 曾孫之來又禋祀四方之神而賽禱焉. 詩經註.

When the great grandchildren came, they also reverently sacrificed to the gods of the four regions, and went through ceremonial invocations.

(5). 沈尹戌聞郊外賽神者,皆呪咀令尹. 列國志.

Ch'ên I-shu heard all those who were in the fields having a procession in honor of the gods, cursing the prime minister.

(IX). To please, to gratify, to flatter. 樂, 娛, 媚.

(1). 俗好祀必作樂歌以樂神. 楚辭.

According to custom they were given to offering sacrifices, and these were always attended with playing and chanting in order to please the gods.

(2). 舉枹擊鼓,使巫緩節而舞,徐歌相和,以樂神也.屈子註.

Lifting up the drumstick to beat, so that the priestess might gesticulate in measured time, also slowly chanting in unison so as to gratify the god.

(3). 亦言於枌榆之下,歌舞以娛神也. 前漢.

It is also said that they sang and danced under the white elm for the gratification of the god.

(4). 媚神不如孝親. 家寶.

It is better to honor parents than to flatter the gods.

(5). 作虛辭以求媚於神. 左傳.

Making empty professions to flatter the gods.

(x). To swear by, to take an oath, to curse. 盟, 誓, 詛, 引.

(1). 盟者恐負約而盟於神,明其久要,詛者既負約而詛神,令其必禍. 周禮精義.

An oath is taken when, fearing lest a covenant should be broken, men swear by the gods to show the lasting importance of the affair. A curse is invoked when the covenant being already broken, the gods are adjured not to fail in punishing.

(2). 孔子曰,要盟也神不聽. 通鑑綱目.

Confucius said, a forced oath the gods do not hear.

(3). 孟任遂割臂血誓神. 列國志.

Mêng Jên at once cut her arm and swore to the gods by the blood.

(4). 賈薔聽了,不覺忙起來,連忙賭神發誓. 紅樓夢.

When he heard it, Chia Ch'iang involuntarily sprang up and hurriedly appealed to the gods with an oath.

(5). 毀人稱直,罵神稱正,指天地以證鄙懷,引神明而見猥事. 信心錄.

They slander men, yet declare they are truthful. They revile the gods, yet say they are righteous. They appeal to heaven and earth to bear witness to their wicked designs, and call on the gods to search their evil deeds.

(6). 當下重寫祝文,對神發誓. 快心初集.

He at once wrote out a grievous curse, invoking the gods with an oath.

(xi). To fear. 懼, 畏.

(1). 天下靡然從之,相懼以神,相惑以怪. 神仙鑑.

All the world recklessly followed him, fearing him as a god and duped by him as by a demon.

(2). 人即不畏王法,未有不畏鬼神者. 信心錄.

There are those who do not fear human laws, but there are none who do not fear the gods.

(3). 然世人畏神而敬佛, 雖顛人而醉酒, 尙悚然知畏. 夢遊集.

Yet men fear the gods and reverence the Buddhas, so that even lunatics and drunken men know enough to tremble and obey.

(4). 且爾亦知鬼神之可畏乎. 書經註.

Do you not know that the gods are to be feared?

(XII). To sin against, to provoke, to anger, to offend. 罪於,得罪, 怒, 觸.

(1). 同舍謂其獲罪於神, 使備牲酒往謝. 劍俠傳.

His associates said he had sinned against the gods, and they had him prepare a victim and wine, and go to apologise.

(2). 無心中得罪鬼神默默代滌除. 家寶.

When one sins unintentionally, the gods quietly wash it away.

(3). 犯人者有亂亡之患, 犯神者有疾矢之禍. 前漢.

He that sins against men, will suffer rebellion and defeat; but he that sins against the gods, will be visited with sickness and death.

(4). 天譴神怒而致邦國之殄瘁也. 詩經註.

Heaven reproves and the gods are angered, causing the destruction of the kingdom.

(5). 離民怒神而求利焉, 不亦難乎. 國語.

Estranging the people and provoking the gods, will it not be hard for him to get the advantage he prays for?

(6). 假行竊名, 最觸神怒, 夫博名於人而干怒於神豈爲善計. 應驗錄.

He who steals a good name by hypocritical deeds greatly offends the gods. Is it a wise plan to secure a good name among men at the expense of offending the gods?

(7). 賞與刑不設, 則人之情又何苦而抗天觸神, 忤雷霆哉. 唐宋八家.

If no rewards and punishments were fixed, what would hinder human nature from opposing heaven, offending the gods, and despising the thunderbolts?

(XIII). To blaspheme, profane, insult, revile. 褻,瀆慢誣,欺罵.

(1). 神明不可褻亦不可諂. 信心錄.

The gods should not be blasphemed, neither should they be bribed.

(2). 天下嘗有言曰, 叛父母, 褻神明, 則雷霆下擊之. 唐宋八家.

In all the world men say, the thunderbolts will descend and strike him who rebels against his parents and blasphemes the gods.

(3). 周人強民未瀆神而賞爵刑罰窮矣. 禮記.

The rulers of Chou oppressed the people but did not blaspheme the gods; rewards and punishments being used to the utmost.

(4). 毋瀆神, 毋循枉, 毋測未至. 小學纂註.

Do not speak irreverently of the gods, do not follow the vicious, do not pry into the future.

(5). 諂瀆鬼神者, 必不務民義. 四書味根錄.

He that hypocritically pays court to the gods will certainly not labor for the virtue of the people.

(6). 帝武乙慢神而震死. 史記.

The Emperor Wu I insulted the gods, and a thunderbolt struck him dead.

(7). 噫神宗於神尚敢慢之, 其於民也何有. 通鑑綱目.

Alas! if Shên Tsung dares to insult even the gods what will he do to the people?

(8). 敢於慢神, 謂祭祀爲無益而不之舉. 書經註.

He dared to despise the gods saying that sacrifice was of no use, and he would not offer any.

(9). 輕呪者必慢神. 列國志.

He that lightly takes an oath certainly insults the gods.

(10). 無神何告, 若有不可誣也. 左傳.

If there are no gods why pray? If there are, you should not slander them.

(11). 下民微細猶不可詐, 況於上天神明而可欺哉. 前漢.

If the insignificant people should not be cheated, how much more should not the gods of heaven be insulted?

(12). 罵神已大悖聖人之敎矣, 尙得謂之正乎. 信心錄.

To revile the gods is grossly to violate the teaching of the sages; how then can it be called correct?

XIV. To build temples to, to make images of.

(1). 我們老太太, 太太, 都是善人, 就是合家大小也都好善喜捨, 最愛修廟塑神. 紅樓夢.

Our grandmother and mother were both pious people, and the whole family, great and small, did good, relieved the poor, and delighted in repairing temples and making (images of the) gods.

(2). 又鑄銅爲九州鼎, 及十二神, 皆高一丈, 各置其方. 通鑑綱目.

He also cast copper censers for the nine states, together with twelve gods, each ten feet high, and set each in its proper place.

XV. To welcome, to invite, to bid adieu to, to dismiss. 迎, 接, 請, 送, 辭.

(1). 知神將降而往迎之. 屈子註.

Knowing that the god was about to descend, he set out to meet him.

(2). 大祝迎神于廟門. 前漢.

The chaplain welcomed the god at the door of the temple.

(3). 以樂送神. 前漢.

He dismissed the god with music.

(4). 夜漏未盡, 七刻初納, 進熟獻送神. 後漢.

Before the end of the watch near the end of the hour, the cooked meats were presented, and they bade adieu to the god.

(5). 祝啟門, 主人以下, 入哭辭神. 性理大全.

The chaplain opens the door, and all below the king enter and weep, bidding adieu to the god.

(6). 爲神敷席也, 至此使親接神. 儀禮註疏.

He spread out a mat for the god, and advancing to this point he received the god in person.

(7). 又笑道, 就是你眞請了神來我也不怕. 紅樓夢.

He also laughed, saying, even if in very deed you had invited a god to come with you, I would not fear.

XVI. To justify oneself, to have a good conscience. 質.

(1). 存心無欺, 可質鬼神. 信心錄.

He that keeps his heart from deceit, stands justified before the gods.

(2). 質諸鬼神, 知天也 中庸.

He who is unabashed before the gods, knows heaven.

(3). 殺牲取血以質鬼神. 孟子註.

Victims are slain and the blood taken in order to secure justification before the gods.

(4). 所作所爲的事無不可以對天地質鬼神. 家寶.

In all his actions there is nothing in which he does not approve himself to heaven and earth, and have a good conscience towards the gods.

(5). 自今以後, 誓與心盟, 徹骨徹髓, 掃空巢穴, 務令念念可質鬼神. 王龍谿全集.

From this time I resolved in my heart with an oath reaching to the joints and marrow, that I would search in every corner and crevice, and that in every thought and plan I would clear myself to the gods.

The above examples are sufficient, I think, to prove that the language which gives expression to the religious nature of the Chinese, centers in the word *shên*. The various forms of expression contained in these examples, constitute the staple forms of the Chinese language on the subjects referred to. Let it not be supposed that this is a special list collected to support a theory. It might be expanded to almost any extent; on most of the heads thousands of examples could be found. No doubt a number of these words, such as to serve, to worship, to reverence, to

sacrifice to, may be found used with *Ti* or *Shangti*. This is to be expected, seeing that *Shangti* is the highest of the "gods." This is but a special case of the idea expressed by the generic term *shên*. In like manner these words are occasionally connected with *Fu* 佛 or with *Pu Sa* 菩薩, or with the name of any particular god. It still remains, however, that *shên* is THE word with which ALL these various verbs are connected, and the connection is not occasional or specific, but constant, natural, and generic. It should be noted also that whenever definitions of religious terms are given, as in six or seven of the above examples, the word *shên* naturally comes in in its generic sense. In such cases no other word in the language will take its place.

Now I ask the student of this question to look carefully at the various words illustrated above, and to consider impartially their character and bearing. Note that the *shên* are the beings whom the Chinese serve, reverence, worship, pray to, invoke, and fear; to whom they sacrifice, present offerings, give thanks, offer praise and perform rites; in whose name they swear and to whom they make vows; whom bad men revile, insult, blaspheme, flatter and bribe; of whom images are made and to whom temples are dedicated. With reference to what class of beings have mankind generally used such language and performed such acts as these? What is the analogy of universal history? Suppose that in the process of deciphering the hieroglyphics of Egypt, or the arrow-head inscriptions of Assyria, a symbol had been found, used as we have just seen the word *shên* is used, would it ever have entered the head of Champollion, Oppert or Rawlinson to render it anything but "god?" Spirits, as such, are not served, reverenced, supplicated, sacrificed to, etc. From a Christian point of view, gods are spirits, it is true, but heathen nations do not call their gods spirits; and especially when they are in the act of doing the things referred to above they do not speak of them as spirits, but as gods. Let us not lose sight of the fact that a spirit is simply an invisible intelligent being, and nothing more. Now what is there in this idea to call forth such acts of service, worship, prayer, sacrifice, etc.? Is it not as plain as anything could possibly be that these acts presuppose and imply power, authority and virtue in the beings so addressed, that is, they are more than *Spirits*, they are GODS?

V. ACTS AND OFFICES OF THE SHÊN.

THE ACTS AND OFFICES ATTRIBUTED TO THE SHÊN SHOW THAT THEY ARE REGARDED AS GODS RATHER THAN AS SPIRITS.

There is a substantial agreement amongst all heathen nations as to the acts they have attributed to their gods. Amongst these

the most prominent are the following : creating the world, guiding providence, settling fate, rewarding the good and punishing the evil, hearing and answering prayer, accepting sacrifices, conferring happiness, watching men's actions, protecting and assisting men, knowing the future, performing prodigies, directing in dreams, stc. That such are just the acts which the Chinese attribute to their *shên* may be seen from the following citations :—

(I) CREATION.

(1) 鬼神者造化之功也. 性理大全.
Kwei Shên (the dual divine essence) *is the efficient agency in creation.*

(2) 成吾身者天之神也. 性理大全.
He who formed my body was the god of heaven.

(3). 天地四時非生萬物也, 神明接, 陰陽和, 而萬物生也. 淮南子.
Heaven, earth and the seasons did not produce all things. The gods took up the work, the dual ethers commingled, and all things were produced.

(4). 乃知造物鬼神亦輒以此勘人. 信心錄.
You should know that the Kwei Shên who create, ofttimes use this to try men.

(5). 天神,引出萬物者也, 地祇, 提出萬物者也. 說文.
The gods of heaven are they who have developed all things. The gods of earth are they who manifest all things.

(6). 社如何有神, 曰能生物便是神也. 文獻通考.
How should Shê (the god of the land) have any claim to divinity ? Answer: *That which (or he who) produces things is divine.*

It must be borne in mind that the Chinese do not hold to a creation in a Christian sense. They are and have ever been thorough-going evolutionists, and only attribute to the gods a transforming or co-ordinating agency. Such creation as they believe in, they attribute to their *shên* and to no other. Sometimes this creating, *i.e.*, making or producing, is attributed to particular gods as to *Shangti* and others, as it is to 社 *Shê* in the last example above. Pantheistic philosophers use the compound term *Kwei Shên*, which with them is largely impersonal, yet the moralist sometimes uses the same term and makes it personal and even singular, as in the fourth example above.

(II) PROVIDENCE.

(1). 收成之慶皆神力所致. 詩經註.
All the blessings of a fruitful season come from the power of the gods.

(2). 若迺不敬鬼神致令逆時, 則水失其性, 雲冰暴出, 百川逆溢, 壞鄉邑溺人民及淫雨傷稼穡. 前漢.

If he (the Emperor) does not reverence the gods, the result is the seasons are contrary, water loses its nature, the clouds burst forth, rivers rush from their courses, ruining cities and drowning the people, and excessive rains destroy the harvests.

(3). 嘗見世人度日，暗有災難，並不知覺而忽過者，皆神之庇也，若不知覺而猝罹者，皆神之使也，至現有災難，虔心禱祀，而始脫者，乃神之宥也，若虔心禱祀，而弗免者，乃神之不赦也，且神之名號不同，而與人最親者，一家有司命神，一邑有城隍神，更有神之至尊莫尚，至靈莫測者，總皆宜敬而不宜褻也。 信心錄.

We see men living in the very presence of lurking afflictions, yet, without their realizing it, the danger presently passes by, all because the gods protect them. If realising not (the nearness of the affliction) *it falls suddenly upon them, it is because the gods bring it about. If when the affliction comes the man prays and sacrifices with an humble mind and so escapes, it is because the gods are lenient with him. If he prays and sacrifices with an humble mind and escapes not, it is because the gods will not forgive. As to the gods, they have different names. Those most nearly allied to men are in each family its guardian deity, and in each city its Ch'êng Hwang, and besides these there is the most high and unsurpassed, the most powerful and unsearchable one,—all are to be reverenced and not blasphemed.*

The last example not only brings out providence but also moral government in the most explicit and particular form. It also classes under the term *shên* the very highest conception of divinity, nor does it name that divinity *Shangti*, as many might have expected. The mind of the writer rose above all *special* divinities to the one who has no special name.

(III) SETTLING FATE.

(1). 曹大家曰，言人之行，各隨其命，命者神先定之，故爲徵兆在於前也，雖然亦在人消息而行之。 文選.

T'sao Ta-chia remarks: "It is said that every man's life is according to his destiny. Now destiny is previously settled by the gods, hence there are signs and omens beforehand. Notwithstanding this, a man's life is affected by his own conduct."

(2). 人受命而生，貧富貴賤，各有所當，或離或合，神實司之，非人之所能爲也。 屈子註.

Man is born with a predestined fate; rich or poor, high or low, each has his lot; whether it is modified or fulfilled is wholly in the hands of the gods, and not in the power of man.

(3). 非有天命佑助，不能歷數長久，若齊桓晉文，天假之年，而除其害，子孫繼業，神所命也。 國語註.

If it is not the will of heaven, the time of a man's reign cannot be prolonged. If heaven had lent Ch'i Huan and Chin Wén a few

years in which to rectify their mistakes, their inheritance might have been handed down to their children, but it was the will of god that it should be as it was.

In this third example *shên* is used as synonymous with heaven, and should no doubt be translated in the singular, being, in fact, used by "way of eminence."

(IV) REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.

(1). 神福仁而禍淫,淫而無罰福也. 左傳.

The gods bless the good and punish the wicked; for the wicked to escape punishment is itself a blessing.

(2), 太上曰,禍福無門,惟人自召,善惡之報,如影隨形,是以天地有司過之神,依人所犯輕重,以奪人算. 感應篇.

The most ancient one says: "Happiness and misery are not foreordained, but depend on one's actions. Recompense follows good and evil as the shadow follows the substance. This is because there is in heaven and earth a god who takes account of men's wrong doings, and according to the measure of their offenses takes away from their allotted portion."

(3). 且神明之昭示,必其人有別善可錄,故先爲警之,使其改悔,若其人無善可紀,神只知罰罪,又何暇明示乎. 應驗錄.

When the gods forewarn a man, it is because he has some merit which may be put to his credit, hence he is warned that he may repent. If he has no merit to record, the gods simply punish his sin. Why spend time warning him?

(4). 不知是那個墮地獄萬剮的,陷害我們,少不得神明有報. 快心初集.

I wonder what villain deserving to be sliced up in hell is persecuting us. The gods will hardly fail to punish him.

Chinese religious books are full of the idea of rewards and punishments. They are sometimes attributed to particular gods, but most generally to the *shên* at large.

(V) HEAR AND ANSWER PRAYER.

(1). 人能篤朋友之好,則神之聽之,終和且平矣. 詩經.

When a man honors the claims of friendship, the gods hear (his prayers) *and give him lifelong harmony and peace.*

(2). 羣臣言皆謀位功,而神明享其禱. 沒冢周書.

The princes said, "Let each seek merit in his own office and the gods will accept his prayer."

(3). 如是則神聽之,介福降之,立之不亦可乎. 左傳.

Thus the gods will hear and send down great prosperity; should he not then be appointed?

(4). 娥仰天呼曰, 皇天有神不, 我爲何罪, 而當如此. 博物志.

Woŏ looked up to heaven and cried out, "Is there a god in imperial heaven or not? For what sin do I suffer this?"

ACCEPT SACRIFICES.

(1). 鬼神非其族類不歆其祀. 通鑑綱目.

The (family) gods will not accept the offerings of those who are not of their own class.

(2). 天神觀人主之明肅顧饗其馨香之祭. 文選.

The celestial gods seeing the sincerity and reverence of the ruler had regard to and accepted the fragrance of his offerings.

(3). 至誠感神雖用薄物以祭神自來享. 易經註.

Perfect sincerity moves the gods, so that although the offering is inferior, yet the gods will still come to receive it.

CONFER HAPPINESS.

(1). 小信未孚神弗福也. 左傳.

He (the prince) who is wanting in sincerity does not inspire confidence, and the gods do not bless him.

(2). 共而從君, 神之所福也. 通鑑綱目.

They who do their duty and fotlow their prince are those whom the god will bless.

(3). 與人理相宜則神與之神祥也. 管子註.

When in his intercourse with others a man acts according to the principles of truth, the gods will give him a happy lot.

(4). 祉福乃神錫. 詩經註.

Good fortune and happiness are given by the gods.

(5). 鬼神害盈而福謙. 易經.

The gods send calamities on the haughty and give happiness to the humble.

(6). 於是民和而神降之福. 詩經註.

Thus the people are peaceful and the gods bestow blessings.

This last phrase, "The gods send down blessings," is a stereotyped form of expression. It would not be difficult to collect hundreds of instances of its use. The fifth example, which is from the Book of Changes, is much quoted in Chinese books.

WATCH MEN'S ACTIONS.

(1). 勿謂不聞, 神將伺之.. 通鑑綱目.

Say not that no one hears. The gods will search men.

(2). 爾獨居於室之時, 雖極至靜, 然有相之者, 卽屋漏之神所在也. 四書味根錄.

*When you are entirely alone in the house, although it is exceedingly still, yet there is one watching you. The god of the "sky hole" is present.**

(3). 若能靖恭其位, 直道而行, 則神聽而知之, 助以大福也. 前漢註.

If you are able properly to discharge the duties of your office and follow the path of uprightness, the gods will see and regard it and assist you with great blessings.

(4). 人之一生, 日夜時刻, 上下四旁, 皆有鬼神鑒察也, 蓋神居幽暗, 人居顯明, 神嘗見人, 人不見神. 太上感應篇.

Through a man's whole life, day and night, hour and minute, above and below and on all sides there are gods watching. For the gods dwell in the darkness, men in the light. The gods always see men, but men do not see gods.

PROTECT AND ASSIST MEN.

(1). 爲善之人神必佑之. 書經體註.

The man who does right the gods will certainly protect.

(2). 孝子之門鬼神護之. 文昌孝經.

The door of the dutiful son the gods protect.

(3). 佑善者其惟神乎, 然神雖佑善, 而不能必人之孳孳行善也. 同心向道.

The gods are they who protect the good; yet, although they protect him, they cannot insure that he will continue to be a good man.

(4) 汝君既獲神祐, 後祿未艾. 東周列國志.

Your sovereign having obtained the protection of the gods, his good fortune will be without limit.

(5). 意者豈非神明依憑支持, 以保漢室者也. 文選.

I suspect that it must be that the gods being present with him have assisted him, in order to protect the house of Han.

KNOW THE FUTURE.

(1). 夫神以知來不追已往, 祥兆先見, 而後廢興從之. 通鑑綱目.

From the gods we know the future, but do not inquire concerning the past. By them omens are shown beforehand, and afterwards the events, whether failure or success, follow.

(2). 禍福將至, 鬼神前知. 神仙鑑.

When good or evil is about to come, the gods know it beforehand.

* In primitive times before chimneys were invented an opening was left in the roof of the house for the egress of the smoke, and through this hole the sky was visible and of course the rain came in. This hole was called the 屋漏, *house leak*, and it was taken to symbolize the eye of god looking down to watch men's actions.

(3). 神不能自說吉凶與人,必待蓍而後見,皆佑助於神也. 性理大全.

The gods cannot foretell good or evil by direct speech. They have to rely on the divining straws to manifest it. All (divination) serves to assist the gods.

(4). 璜年且八十.丘復至故處,見其鬚長三尺餘,凡凶豐變異,豫戒於人,始知爲神. 神仙鑑.

When Hwang was eighty, Ch'iu returned to the same place. His beard was seen to be over three feet long, and he warned men beforehand of all kinds of misfortunes and blessings, of revolutions and changes; then for the first time they knew he was a god.

This last sentence, it will be observed, bases the godship directly on the fact that the person knew the future. What sort of proof would this be that he was a "spirit?"

PERFORM PRODIGIES.

(1). 吾嶽神也,能生死人. 神仙鑑.

I am the god of the sacred mountain. I can make alive and I can kill.

(2). 得罪師門,故令太黃神來擾,神秉大地之氣,能負山而動也. 神仙鑑.

The disciples of the teachers have been offended, and therefore the god T'ai Hwang has been ordered to come and create a disturbance. This god having been endowed with the spirit of the great earth, is able to lift the hills and shake them.

(3). 關中有金魚神,周平王時,十旬不雨,祭此神,俄生涌泉,魚躍降雨. 博物志.

Within the barrier there was a gold-fish god. In the time of King Chou P'ing it did not rain for a hundred days. They sacrificed to this god, when suddenly there burst forth a gushing fountain with fish sporting in it, and the rain descended.

(4). 能出雲爲風雨者皆曰神.

All who are able to produce clouds and make wind and rain are called gods.

DIRECT IN DREAMS.

(1). 屢蒙神指示夢徵. 信心錄.

He frequently recived direction from the gods by signs given in dreams.

(2). 夕夢神責. 信心錄.

One night he was reproved by a god in a dream.

MOVE MEN'S MINDS.

(1). 龍馬負圖,神開我心. 古今注.

The dragon horse bore the map on his back, and the gods enlightened my mind.

(2). 李感神明開悟指示之恩. 信心錄.

Li gave thanks for the favor of the gods in enlightening and directing him.

Besides the above, other acts less honorable, or even dishonorable and degrading, are sometimes attributed to ancestral deities and to inferior and local divinities. They are such as getting drunk, possessing men and women, fighting for godship, marrying, dying, etc.

(1). 工祝致告,神具醉止,皇尸載起,鼓鐘送尸,神保聿歸. 詩經.

The officating chaplain made the announcement: The gods are all drunk. The grand personator then arose, and was escorted with drums and bells, and the divine protectors at once returned (to heaven).

This passage, and the comments connected with it, constitute the only instance I have met of drunkenness ascribed to the *shên*. Here it refers to the souls of ancestors, and it is not certain whether the drunkenness is not attributed to the boy who personated the deified ancestors rather than to the ancestors themselves.

(2). 神在男曰覡,在女曰巫. 淮南子註.

When a man is possessed by a god, he is called a sorcerer; when a woman, she is called a sorceress.

(3). 今世鬼神之附著生人而說話者甚多,亦祖先降神於其子孫者,又如今之師巫亦有降神者,蓋皆其氣類之相感,所以附著之也. 朱子全書.

At the present time there are many cases of gods taking possession of living men and speaking through them. There are also ancestors who come down and inspire their descendants; and the sorceresses of the present time can also bring down the gods. The gods are moved by a spiritual affinity and hence descend.

Possessions of men and women by *shên* and *kuei* have always abounded in China. In a general way they are often spoken of as possessed of a *kuei,* but in all cases where the parties profess to give oracles, they themselves claim that they are possessed by a *shên*. This was equally the case in classic times, as instance the oracle at Delphi. In his Question of Terms Simplified, Dr. Chalmers lays stress on the fact that possessions are attributed to *shên*, but not to *ling*, as proving that *shên* means spirit, and *ling* does not. It is worthy of remark, however, that there are numerous possessions attributed to gods and demons in Classic Greek, but none to spirits (pneuma). An argument like this, based on the usage of a Christain language, but against the usage of most, if not all, heathen languages, is wholly beside the mark.

(4). 李天王卽調四大天王與二十八宿一齊出師來鬬大聖也,大聖公然不懼,調出獨角鬼王七十二洞妖主

與四個健將,就於洞門外列成陣勢,你看,這場混戰自辰時殺到日落西山,那個獨角鬼王與七十二洞妖怪,盡被衆天神捉拿去了. 西遊眞詮.

The celestial king Li forthwith summoned the four great celestial kings, with the (gods of the) twenty-eight constellations, to come in a body with their forces to fight with the great sage. The great sage, all unabashed, called out the one-horned demon king with the fiend king of the seventy-two caves, and with his four doughty generals set the battle in order outside the mouth of the cave. And behold! there was a desperate battle from the morning light till the going down of the sun. The one-horned demon king and the fiends of the seventy-two caves were all taken prisoners by the celestial gods.

This quotation is a specimen of many which might be given from the same book. The whole book is full of the contentions of celestial beings in their efforts to help or to hinder T'ang Sêng when he went to the Western Heaven in search of the sacred writings. It is not unlike the contentions of the gods on either side in the famous expedition against Troy. In the 封神演義 we have more of a similar kind, save that the contentions are between more exalted gods—more like the battles of the gods with the Titans.

(5). 形天與帝至此爭神,帝斷其首葬之常羊之山,乃以乳爲目,以臍爲口,操干戚以舞. 山海經.

To this point material heaven contended with Ti for godship. Ti cut off his head and buried it in the Ch'ang Yang mountain, but material heaven taking his teats for eyes and his navel for a mouth, flourished aloft his shield and spear.

The example is worthy of special notice. It is from a very ancient book. The contention is between the material heaven represented as a divinity (Uranus) and Ti (that is *Shangti*) who represents the immaterial ruling power. The point at issue is *godship*. To read that they contended for *spiritship* would make no practical sense. The passage shows most clearly that the word *shên* has in it the idea of dominion, which is one of the most essential ideas of divinity.

(6). 神須取女二人以爲婦,冰自以其女與神婚. 史記.

The god wanted to take the two maids as wives, but the go-between took his own daughters and gave them to the god.

The marriage of gods and men is very rare in Chinese books, and in no case have I found an account of a *shên* having had adulterous intercourse with a woman. This is certainly to the credit of Chinese mythology.

It would be easy to furnish from Greek and Latin writers a similar list of passages showing that these are just the acts and

offices which they attributed to their *theoi* and *dii*. Take the following example : "No god, you say, interferes in human affairs. To whom then shall I address my prayers ? To whom shall I make my vows ? To whom shall I immolate victims ? Whom shall I invoke throughout my whole life as the helper of the unfortunate, the favorer of the good and the adversary of the wicked, and whom, in fine, shall I address as a witness to my oath ?"

To multiply examples is superfluous; everyone acquainted with the facts will readily concede their existence. Now let the reader take into one view the various classes of examples cited above, and he will readily see the argument which they furnish that *shên* really contains the idea of divinity. Here is a people who attribute to a class of beings whom they call *shên*, the acts and offices which other heathen nations have attributed to their *gods*, and moreover they are just the acts and offices which, according to the general apprehension of the human mind, befit the *gods*. Shall we not then say that the Chinese regard their *shên* as their gods ?

It is in vain to object that while the *shên* are indeed their gods, the term *shên* does not characterize them as such. For if it does not, it may be fairly asked what term does so characterize them, and are these acts and offices equally associated with that term ? It is safe to affirm that there is no such other term in the Chinese language. The above examples are not rare or exceptional. Their number might be increased to almost any extent. They embrace the staple forms of the language on the subjects referred to. Now it is a law of the human mind that when we ascribe an act to any one, we call him by the term which the act befits. When we ascribe to a man acts befitting a king, we speak of him by the term king; and when we ascribe to him acts befitting a slave, we speak of him as a slave. So that when the Chinese ascribe to their *shên* a class of acts which by the common judgment of mankind befit gods, we must conclude that the term which they use means *god*. That a whole series of acts should be persistently applied to any persons or beings under one term which only befit them under another, is a linguistic anomaly which connot be found in history. As to the dishonorable and degrading acts ascribed to some of the *shên*, they are the natural outgrowth of polytheism, and will be found to characterize the word god in every heathen land. Such was notoriously the case in Greece and Rome. In China such things are ascribed solely to inferior deities, but in Greece and Rome they were ascribed to the very highest, so that these dishonorable acts being occasionally ascribed to the *shên*, is nothing at all against the argument that *shên* means god.

VI. REASON FOR BEING REGARDED AS SHÊN.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH ANY PERSON OR THING IS SAID TO BE REGARDED AS A SHÊN, SHOWS THAT THE WORD MEANS GOD AND NOT SPIRIT.

Amongst a polytheistic people whose gods are deified men and whose mythology introduces the gods as appearing and acting among men, it might be expected that such phraseology as, "to regard as a god," would be frequently found. The Chinese expression most commonly used is 以爲神. The circumstances under which it is used will appear from the following examples:—

(1). 后稷其母台氏之女姜嫄,爲帝嚳元妃,年少未孕,出游於野,見大人跡而觀之,中心歡然喜其形像,因履而踐之,後妊娠,恐被淫沃之禍,遂祭祀以求謂無子,履上帝之跡天猶令有之,姜嫄怪而棄于阨狹之巷,牛馬過者,折鳥而避之,復棄于林中,適會伐木之人多,復置于澤中冰上,衆鳥以羽覆之,后稷遂得不死,姜嫄以爲神,收而養之. 吳越春秋.

Hou Chi's mother was Chiang Yüen; her mother being of the Tai family. She was the chief concubine of (the Emperor) Ti Kao. When she was young and not yet pregnant she went out to roam in the fields, and seeing there a great foot-print she was pleased with the outline of it and trod in it. She subsequently became pregnant, and fearing she would be punished for adultery sacrificed and prayed that she might not bear a child. But having trodden in the foot-print of Shangti, heaven caused her to bear a son. She, regarding the child as preternatural, threw him away in a narrow alley. The cows and horses which passed by went around him and passed on the other side. She was then about to cast him away in the woods, but met too many woodmen. She then threw him on the ice in a marsh, but the birds came and covered him with their wings. Thus Hou Chi's life was saved, and Chiang Yüen, regarding him as a god, took him up and nurtured him.

2. 幽武置大窖中,絕不飲食,天雨雪,武齧雪與旃毛并咽之,數日不死匈奴以爲神. 通鑑綱目.

Hsiung Nu imprisoned Wu in a large pit and gave him nothing either to eat or drink. But heaven sent snow, and Wu chewed the snow with the wool of felt and swallowed it. When for many days he did not die, Hsiung Nu esteemed him as a god.

3. 在永州府城南故龍興寺東北陬有堂,堂之地隆然而起,牧若鴟吻,色若青石,出地廣四步高一尺五寸,初爲堂時夷之而益高,凡持鍤者盡死,人以爲神,自是不敢犯. 通鑑綱目.

In the Fu city of Yung-chow there was formerly a temple called Lung-hsing. In the north-east corner was a hall in which was

a projecting mound, whose outline was that of the bill of a vulture. Its appearance was like a blue stone, about twenty feet broad and a foot and a half high. When the temple was first built they attempted to level it, but it grew all the higher, and everyone who held a spade died, whereupon they regarded it as divine, and afterwards no one dared to disturb it.

4. 嘗臨水求渡船,人不許之,炳乃張蓋坐其中,長嘯呼風亂流而濟,於是百姓神服從者如歸. 後漢.

Once when Ping came to a river and wished to be taken across the ferrymen refused, whereupon he spread his umbrella and sitting on it he whistled for the wind, and went floating across the current. Seeing this the people acknowledged him as a god, and crowds followed him.

5. 鎮惡泝渭而上,乘蒙衝小艦,行船者皆在艦內,秦人但見艦進,驚以爲神. 通鑑綱目.

Chên Wu went up the Wei river against the current. He went on a small boat made to stem the current, the boatmen being all within the boat. When the people of Ch'in saw the bare boat thus advancing (against the current) they were astonished and regarded him as a god.

6. 匈奴遣兵擊之不勝,益以爲神而遠之. 前漢.

Hsiung Nu sent soldiers to attack him, but failed to conquer, from which he all the more regarded him as divine, and kept at a distance.

7. 諸羌見爰劍被焚不死,怪其神共畏事之. 後漢.

When all the people of Chiang saw Yuen Chien in the midst of the fire without losing his life, they were filled with surprise, and all feared and worshipped him as a god.

8. 海鳥曰爰居止於魯東門外,文仲以爲神命國人祀之. 左傳註.

A sea bird called Yüen-ehü alighted outside the east gate of the capital of Lu. Wên Chung regarded it as divine, and commanded the people to sacrifice to it.

9. 秦二十一年鑄金狄十二,釋氏之源本,霍去病討休屠王,獲其祭天金人,武帝以爲神,列於甘泉宮. 續博物志.

In the 21st year of the Ch'in twelve golden men were cast in the likeness of the northern tribes from whence the Buddhists come. When Hwoŭ Ch'ü-ping went to punish the King of Hsiu-t'u, he captured these golden men, which were used in sacrificing to heaven. The Emperor Wu esteemed them as gods, and placed them in the Kan-ch'üen palace.

10. 曹操無底深險,現在受罪冥陰,孔明只緣多知,幽冥不奉爲神. 文昌帝君救世文.

Ts'ao Ts'ao was fathomless in his dark deeds, and now he is being punished in hades. K'ung Ming, because of his overmuch astuteness, was not honored as a god after his death.

11. 自古以來立德立功之臣共祀以爲神. 文獻通考.

From ancient times the multitude have regarded virtuous and meritorious officers as gods, and sacrificed to them as such.

12. 後王以爲禖官嘉神而立其祠. 後漢.

Subsequent kings regarded her (Chien Te) as the winsome goddess who presides over betrothals, and erected a temple to her.

13. 彼鄭周之女,粉白墨黑,立於衢閭,非知而見之者以爲神. 戰國策.

It was the daughter of Chêng Chou who stood at the entrance to the village gate in shining white and black. If one should see her, not knowing who she was, he would take her for a goddess.

The first example refers to the supernatural circumstances in connection with the birth of *Hou Chi*. It is a fuller statement of what is more briefly given in the Shih Ching. The supernatural conception from treading in the foot-print of Shangti, and his miraculous preservation after birth, are given as the reasons why his mother regarded him as divine. In the second example a man is called *shên* because he subsisted many days without food or drink. In the third a rock in a temple was regarded as *shên* because all who disturbed it died. In the fourth a man is regarded as *shên* because he brought the wind by whistling for it, and then floated across a river on his outspread umbrella. In the fifth the fact that a certain man caused a boat to move against the current without any visible propelling power, led to his being regarded as a *shên*. In the sixth a soldier who was invincible against a greatly superior force, was on this account esteemed a *shên*. In the seventh a man who remained alive in the midst of the fire was feared and worshipped as a *shên*. In the eighth the sudden appearance of a strange bird was regarded as a prodigy which called forth divine honors. In every case some superhuman knowledge power or appearance is the reason why a person or thing is regarded as *shên*. Now are not these just the circumstances in which men in all heathen lands have been prone to use the word god? The superhuman and the miraculous are accounted divine, and the supposed possession of such power always calls forth ascriptions of divinity. The literature of all heathen nations affords abundant illustration of this tendency. Why does Homer call each of his heroes divine but because he wishes to convey the idea that they possessed superhuman powers and qualities. So that unless the Chinese are different in their mental and moral constitution from other men, the word *shên* must be allowed in such cases to mean divinity. In fact the form of expression excludes the idea of spirit. How could one say of a given person that he regarded him as a spirit? Such language could only be used concerning an apparition of some kind, which is not at all the point of view in the

above examples. In an extended search through Chinese literature I have nowhere found a single example of this kind. In the eighth, ninth and twelfth examples the idea of worship is superadded by which the word *shên* is further defined and the idea of divinity confirmed. In the case of the ninth example some golden images of men that had been connected with the worship of heaven were regarded and treated as gods. It is hard to see how the idea of spirit could come in here, unless that idea be first clothed with the peculiar qualities of divinity. In the tenth example we are told how the excessive astuteness of *K'ung Ming* prevented his being exalted to godship, while Ts'ao Ts'ao's recklessness brought on him punishment in hades instead of exaltation to divine honors; and in the eleventh we are told that distinguished virtue and merit constitute the ground on which in all ages men have been regarded as *shên*. Thus we are brought back to the argument stated in a former chapter that in the estimation of heathen peoples virtue gives ground for calling a man a *god,* but not for calling him a *spirit*. In the last example divinity is ascribed to female beauty and fascination, as has been done by nearly all nations. Homer calls each of his heroines in turn "divine amongst women." Ovid says of a flame of his,—"your beauty—equal to a great divinity with me." Of a woman's glove Shakespeare says, "Sweet ornament that decks a thing divine." And Tennyson says :—

> Mystery of mysteries
> Faintly smiling Adaline,
> Scarce of earth nor all divine.

It will be a difficult thing, I imagine, to find any heathen poet or author calling his heroine a spirit. Christian authors, seeing they have the generic word spirit, have occasionally used such language, not however from the standpoint of simple beauty and fascination, but rather from that of the airy and the phantom like, as in this from Wordsworth :—

> She was a phantom of delight,
> When first she burst upon my sight.
> A fairy apparition sent
> To be a moment's ornament.
> I saw her on a nearer view,
> A spirit, yet a woman too.

Such an instance as this is beside the mark, because the point of view is wholly different and because the usage is *specifically Christian*. No Greek author can be found using pneuma as *shên* is used in the thirteenth example above—nor even as Wordsworth uses spirit.

The proof must therefore be held complete that to regard a man as a *shên* means to regard him as a *God*.

VII. Acts ascribed to the shên.

The acts and qualities which are said to be like the shên, prove that they are regarded not merely as spirits, but as gods. Likeness is expressed by 如, 若 and 似. With *shên* we find the first used most frequently, but occasionally 似 is also used. The following examples will serve as illustrations. They are classified according to the acts and qualities on which the comparison turns :—

1. Knowledge of the future.

1. 禍福將至, 善必先知之, 不善必先知之, 故至誠如神. 中庸.

When calamities or blessings are about to come, if good he (the perfectly sincere) *will know it beforehand, if evil he will know it beforehand. Therefore the perfectly sincere man is like the gods.*

2. 季咸知人之死生, 存亡, 禍福, 夭壽, 期以歲月旬日若神. 莊子.

Chi Hsien knows a man's life and death, keeping and losing, good or bad fortune, early or late death, forecasting it to the month and day like a god.

3. 爲人占卜,所言吉凶休咎,應驗如神. 東周列國志.

When he divined for any one, what he predicted of good or evil fortune came to pass as if a god (had spoken).

2. Martial prowess.

4. 督梁犢辨掠民斧,施一丈柯,攻戰若神. 通鑑綱目.

Tu Liang-tu wrested an axe from one of the people, and using a handle ten feet long, he fought like a god.

5. 黃天祿年紀雖幼, 原是將門之子,傳授精妙,銼法如神,不分起倒,一勇而進,正是初生之犢猛於虎. 封神演義.

Hwang Tien-lu, although a mere youth, was by birth the son of a general, and had received the most careful instruction. He handled the spear like a god; no matter whether up or down, he pressed boldly forward like a first born young bull, fierce as a tiger.

6. 君常以寡擊衆, 取勝如神, 況以強擊弱, 以衆擊寡乎. 戰國策.

Your majesty has often vanquished many with a few, gaining victories like a god. How much more can you vanquish the weak with the strong, the few with the many?

SKILL OR STRATEGY IN WAR.

7. 鄧九公的刀法如神.

Chêng Chiu-kung's swordmanship was godlike.

8. 兵動若神,謀不再計,摧強易於折枯. 後漢.

His generalship was godlike, his plans needed no reviewing. He overcame the mighty more easily than one breaks a dry stick.

9. 公料敵出奇,勝算若神,百日之間前後十餘捷. 龍王谿全集.

The prince anticipated his enemies in the most astonishing manner, and overcame their stratagems like a god, so that in a hundred days he gained first and last over ten victories.

10. 公以少克衆,用兵如神,軍人恃之,敵人畏之. 通鑑綱目.

The prince overcame many with a few and handled his soldiers like a god. His soldiers trusted to him and his enemies feared him.

MAJESTY.

11. 成帝善修容儀,臨朝淵嘿,尊嚴若神,可謂有穆穆天子之容者矣. 通鑑綱目.

Ch'êng Ti knew well how to order his personal appearance. When he gave audience he was grave and reserved and august as a god. It might be truly said of him that he had the majestic bearing of the son of heaven.

12. 炎之如日,威之如神,函之如海,養之如春. 前漢.

He was splendid as the sun, imposing as a god, all-embracing as the sea and refreshing as the spring.

13. 赤矢朱弓,貌似神. 東周列國志.

With a red arrow and a crimson bow his appearance was like a god.

14. 尊如天地,赫如神,何事人臣敢逐君.

Revered as heaven and earth, august as the gods, how is it that a mere officer dares to drive out the prince?

15. 巡長七尺餘,鬚髯若神. 唐宋八家.

Hsün was more than seven feet high, and his beard was like that of a god.

WISDOM, PENETRATION.

16. 陶唐其仁如天,其智如神. 孔子家語.

T'ao T'ang's benevolence was like heaven and his wisdom like the gods.

17. 才捷若神,形難爲象. 文選.

His talents were brilliant as those of a god and his figure was hard to represent.

18. 聽類神者, 言其聽察精審, 如神朋也. 楚辭.
The phrase "He heard like a god," means that in trying a case his judgment was as penetrating as that of a god.

19. 女明察若神, 人無敢欺. 聊齋志異.
The bride was as perspicacious as a god; no one dared to cajole her.

FORESIGHT.

20. 祭仲料事, 可謂如神矣. 東周列國志.
It may be said of Chi Chung that he forecast things like a god.

21. 其發姦摘伏如神皆類也. 前漢.
His exposure of fraud and detection of villainy were both after the manner of a god.

22. 料事前知妙若神. 東周列國志.
His discernment and foresight were marvelous as that of the gods.

23. 王乃同至江寧, 喧傳相士, 其術如神, 友與偕往. 咫聞錄.
Wang went with him to Chiang-ning, where there was a great talk about a fortune teller whose skill was like that of a god, so he and his friends went to see him.

24. 李斯小篆如神, 大篆入妙. 博物志.
Li Sï wrote the small seal character like a god, and the large in a manner partaking of the marvelous.

25. 則以救日之弓, 與救月之矢, 射之若神. 周禮會通.
Taking the save-sun-bow and the save-moon-arrow, he shot like a god.

TRANSFORMING POWER.

26. 文子曰, 執玄德於心, 化馳如神. 後漢.
Wên Tsï says: Preserving profound virtue in his heart, his transforming power was rapid as that of the gods.

27. 明君臨之以勢, 道之以道, 申之以命, 章之以論, 禁之以刑, 故其民之化道也如神. 荀子.
A wise prince uses power in governing, doctrine in instructing, authority in executing, decrees in publishing (his will), and punishments in forbidding, hence the people are transformed as if by a god.

28. 是日三年之間, 化行如神. 前漢.
Hence in the space of three years civilization advanced as if a god had done it.

EFFICACY (of medicine).

29. 此方藥雖平常, 效驗如神. 家寶.
Although the drugs in this prescription are common ones, yet its efficacy is godlike.

30. 此藥大補陰血，退血虛發熱，效驗如神.

This medicine greatly assists the blood and moderates the fever of anemia. Its efficacy is godlike.

31. 此方醫國如神. 西遊眞全.

This recipe will heal the country as if a god should do it.

MISCELLANEOUS.

32. 德濃厚若神. 經餘必讀.

His (Shên Nung's) virtue was abundant as that of a god.

33. 清明在躬志氣如神. 禮記註.

Having in his body a perspicuous mind, and his resolution like that of a god.

34. 忽見一个美少年，玉貌如神，一手將他提了出來. 品花寶鑑.

Suddenly he saw an elegant young man whose pearly countenance was like that of a god, who with one hand lifted him out.

35. 英眉秀目，豐采如神.

With luxuriant eye-brows and fine eyes, his aspect was graceful as that of a god.

Examples similar to the above can be found in every cultivated heathen language. I will cite a few specimens.

1. He (Telemachus) went forth from his chamber like unto a god to behold.—Homer, Odyssey.

2. Phoethon, a man like the gods, a divine genius.—Hesiod.

3. Those women who spoke like gods in their hymns.—Greek Anthology.

4. But when at length the fourth time he (Diomede) rushed on like a god, the far-darting Apollo menacing, addressed him, etc.—Homer, Iliad.

5. But when, like unto a god, he made the attack for the fourth time, then indeed, O Patroclus, was the end of thy life manifest.—Homer, Iliad.

6. Patroclus, a counselor equal to the gods.—Homer, Iliad.

7. Although godlike Diephobus followed thee as thou wentest.—Homer, Odyssey; or, Thus spoke godlike Alcinous.—Homer, Odyssey.

8. And godlike Nestor and myself alone contended with him.—Homer, Odyssey.

9. A class of persons extremely rare, nay almost godlike.—Cicero de Officius.

10. Happy son of Peleus, O Achilles, like unto the gods.—Homer, Odyssey.

The same style of expression is not unknown in Christianized English, though it takes its model from classic sources.

1. For likest gods they seemed,
Stood they or moved, in stature, motion, arms,
Fit to decide the empire of great heaven.—Paradise Lost.
2. High in the midst, exalted as a god,
The apostate in his sunbright chariot sat,
Idol of majesty divine.—Paradise Lost.
3. Beneath the godlike warrior, see!
Hills, torrents, woods, embodied to bemock.
The tyrant and confound his cruelty.—Wordsworth.
4. With equal skill and godlike power,
He governs in the fearful hour
Of horrid war.—Joseph Hopkinson.

5. Satan behaves as if he were a god, and in some measure, moreover, he is a god,—god of this world.—Delitzsch.

6. "Give me only a fragment beyond the earth's limits,"
So the godlike man said, "and I'll move it with ease."—Schiller.

The above examples, both classic and Christian, are but specimens. They might be extended to almost any extent. A number of them use the term "godlike," which is essentially equivalent to the phrase "like a god," and is much more frequently used than the formal comparison. This is especially the case in Greek, which abounds in compound forms. Thus θεοεικελος and θεοειδης are equivalent to 如 神, also αντιος and ισοος mean substantially the same. Homer applies these terms in turn to each of his heroes, and all are translated godlike.

The argument exhibited in the thirty-six Chinese examples cited above that *shên* means god, scarcely requires stating. No other word will meet the requirements of the case. Certainly the alternate idea of *spirit* will not. How pointless would the preceding examples be if *spirit* were substituted for *god* in the translation. The acts and qualities likened to the *shên* are such as knowledge of the future, prowess and strategy in war, majesty, wisdom, penetration, foresight, skill, efficacy, transforming power, virtue, beauty, etc. An extensive search through Chinese literature enables me to say that this list is practically exhaustive. Now, in the common estimation of men, are these qualities specially characteristic of *spirituality* or of *divinity?* It seems as if there could be but one opinion in the premises. Certain spirits may have some of these qualities, more or less, or they may not. Such qualities are not necessary, but accidental. They do not touch the essential idea of *spirituality*. Not so, however, with the idea of divinity. They inhere in the idea of divinity and form a part of it. Hence when men are compared

to the *shên*, because of the possession of these qualities, it is evident that *shên* must mean more than *spirit;* it must mean *divinity.**

The examples cited above from Greek, Latin and English clearly exhibit what is the testimony of analogous forms of expression in other languages. Is there any language in the world in which such qualities as are exhibited in the preceding examples, are said to be *spirit like?* Does Homer anywhere call his martial heroes *spirit like?* Does Milton anywhere express the majesty, skill, or virtue of his angels by saying they were like spirits?

It should be noted that in likening men to the *shên*, the idea is always that of eulogium. The qualities on which the likeness is based, are excellencies which men admire, and which in all lands and ages they have attributed to their gods. Hence to be like the gods is the highest honor—the acme of praise. What a beggarly attempt at praise it would be to say of a conquering general that he organized victory like a *spirit.* What pointless flattery to say of a king that his majesty was *spirit* like. It is hard to believe that the Chinese would use such meaningless language as this. All nations have panegyrized the brave, the good, the wise, the skilful, the beautiful, by calling them *godlike.* And it is sufficiently evident that in such expressions as those cited above, the Chinese have done the very same thing.

VIII GOD THE PRIMARY SENSE OF SHÊN.

The foregoing proofs fully establish, we think, the position that *shên*, when applied to invisible beings, means god and not spirit. Let us now see what evidence there is that this sense is the original and primary one.

1. THAT GOD, IN THE SENSE OF A PERSONAL BEING, IS THE PRIMARY MEANING OF SHÊN, IS PROVED BY THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE CHARACTER.

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*In his "Question of Terms Simplified," Dr. Chalmers refers to the expression 如神, simply saying that, "it is a comparison, as in the following sentence (from Hanna's Life of Christ), *Like spirits they (the wise men) came casting no shadow before them, and like spirits they departed, passing away into the obscurity from which they had emerged.*" He does not, however, quote a single Chinese example. The phrase 如神 is one of frequent occurrence in Chinese literature. Why does not Dr. Chalmers' long list contain an example or two of this usage? What he says implies that the quotation he makes from Dr. Hanna in reference to the wise men fairly parallels the phrase 如神 in Chinese. Will the reader please look at the thirty odd characteristic examples given above and judge for himself. The wholly diverse point of comparison in the two cases shows the very wide difference.

It is composed of a radical *shï* 示 and a phonetic *shên* 申.* The meaning of the character is indicated by the former according to the common rule in reference to Chinese characters. The radical classifies the character, and, in this case, it classifies it with the persons and things which relate to the gods. This radical has already been referred to, but it is worthy of a more careful examination. The first meaning given in *Kang Hsi's dictionary* is "to descend," while the general meaning is unquestionably "to make known by superiors to inferiors." Hence Dr. Williams defines it, "To make known the will of heaven to mankind," and Dr. Morrison says, "A declaration of the will of heaven." Kang Hsi's dictionary further defines it as meaning "the things of the *gods*" (神) and adds, "Therefore all ancestral temples (宗廟), local deities (社), heavenly deities (神), and earthly deities (祇), are classed under this radical." An examination of the characters under this radical will serve to illustrate this very significant statement of the dictionary and to show how completely this character is confined to things relating to the gods. Under it Kang Hsi's dictionary gives 149 separate characters, exclusive of duplicates. Of these, forty are the names of different kinds of sacrifices, viz., 祊 祋 祓 祆 祩 祫 祠 祔 祕 祭 祜 祫 祝 祩 祰 祾 禆 禋 禑 禓 禘 禚 禛 禜 禝 禡 禢 禤 禫 禭 禰 禱 禳 禴 禷 禸 禷 禷.

Thirteen mean to offer sacrifices to the gods at various times and in various forms, viz., 祀 祉 祠 祭 祝 祰 禈 禖 禧 禱 禷 禷 禷.

Eleven are the names of different kinds of invisible beings, viz., 社 祆 祇 神 祩 祕 禓 禷 禷 禷 禷.

Twenty-five signify the various forms of happiness or blessings conferred by the gods, and in most cases the dictionaries expressly connect them with the gods, viz, 祁 祃 祉 祐 祚 祜 祥 祺 禆 禍 禎 禑 禔 禓 福 禓 禛 禛 禧 禷 禷 禧 禷.

Four signify calamities or prodigies sent by the gods, viz., 祆 祆 祟 禍.

Eight signify to pray to, or supplicate the gods, or to curse in the name of the gods, viz, 祈 祝 祩 祷 禷 禷 禷 禱.

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* It may be proper to state here for the information of readers who are not familiar with the Chinese language that Chinese writing is idengraphic. Some of the symbols (usually called characters) are uncompounded, and so, incapable of analysis. These are usually called primitives. The great mass of the characters, however, are made up of two or more of these primitives. In some cases there is no evident connection between the component parts of the character and either its sound, or its meaning; but in the great majority of cases there is a clear connection of either sound, or sense, or both. Passing by other principles of combination, that which has by far the widest range is that which consists in forming the character of two parts, one indicating the meaning and the other the sound. The part which indicates the meaning, is usually called the radical, and the other, which gives the sound, the phonetic. By means of these radicals the Chinese have arranged their characters in classes for the purpose of making dictionaries.

Three signify worship of various kinds, viz., 祇 禮 禴.

Three signify omens or prognostics from the gods, viz., 禎祺禨.

Five relate to the ancestral tablet and to acts connected with it, viz., 祏 祰 祧 祫 祔.

Six relate to the altar, or to the wood or flesh for sacrifices to the gods, viz., 祭 祳 祿 禫 褅 禪.

Besides these are 祖 ancestors and 祕 divine, mysterious, with 祛 and 祶, meaning to drive away noxious influences. Of the remaining twenty-six characters ten are names of persons or places which have no special significance of any kind. The other sixteen are as follows: 禁 *a warrant to arrest*, 禁 *to prohibit*, 禦 *to oppose, to hinder*, 祘 *to examine closely*, 禷 *to influence in a wonderful way*, 祴 *name of certain music to keep guests from drinking too much*, 祺 *a good appearance*, 禋 *to see*, 禎 *devoted attention to an object*, 禑 *unable to walk*, 禐 *to breathe*, 禒 *a girdle*, 禕 *excellent, admirable*, 禗 *troubled in mind*, 禷 *to gaze for a long time*, 禍 *to involve in ruin*.

Thus we see that of the one hundred and thirty-nine significant characters under this radical, one hundred and twenty-two have a clear connection with the gods. We have the names of various divinities, including ancestors (who are regarded as deified); the leading word being *shên* 神. We have sacrifices in all forms; the leading word being *chi* 祭. We have blessings conferred by the gods; the leading word being *fu* 福. We have calamities also; the leading word being *huoā* 禍. We have prayers to the gods: the leading word being *ch'i* 祈 We have worship; the leading word being *li* 禮. Of the sixteen characters which have no special connection with the gods, only three are in use at present; the others being very rare characters. (Giles only thought it worth while to put three of them in his large dictionary). The three in use are *chin* 禁, *to prohibit; piao* 票, *a warrant;* and *yü* 禦, *to hinder*. The first two involve the exercise of official authority, in which it is easy to trace an association with divine prerogative, and the last has sacrifice as one of its meanings. In fine, this radical is the religious radical of the Chinese language. It is almost exclusively devoted to the gods* and the things pertaining to them. Beyond question this was the classification made by those who invented Chinese characters. In vain will another religious radical be sought in *t'ien* 天 or *ti* 帝 or *chu* 主 or in any of the words which are sometimes

* I say emphatically *gods*, for the names of *demons* and *souls* are not associated with this radical. Of the twelve words under this radical (given above) which mean invisible beings, ten are defined by Kang Hsi with the use of the word *shên* one is synonymous with *t'ien* 天 heaven, and the other (禋) is merely an incorrect writing of 禋. That something more is meant in all these cases than merely *spirits* is shown by the fact that not all spirits are included. Demons and souls are excluded, being ranged under the radical 鬼.

used as the appelatives of God. Of all the characters under this radical, *shên* 神 is the leading and most important one. It has the closest and most essential relation to the radical. This is expressly testified to by the standard Chinese dictionary of Kang Hsi when it defines the radical as meaning "the things of the *shên*;" and in giving this definition he quotes from the *Shuo Wên* (說文), the oldest dictionary in China. Here then we have the important fact that the inventors of Chinese characters classified the word *shên* with the specifi cnames of worshipped beings (*shên* 神 being the generic), with sacrifices, prayers, worship, blessings, calamities, omens, etc. This fact is entirely conclusive as to the general meaning which they attached to the word; these things are not associated with the soul of nature, nor with the souls of men, but with the gods. Seeing then that those who originally formed the Chinese characters regarded the word *shén* as meaning the gods, we are fully entitled to assume that this was the primary meaning. This takes us back beyond all books and all authentic history into the remotest antiquity. In the nature of things no usage in Chinese books, however ancient, can invalidate this testimony. This *etymological* argument is of itself quite sufficient to prove that "*god*" is the *primary* sense of 神*. There are, however, other considerations that clearly point in the same direction.

2. NATURAL ORDER IMPLIES THE PRIORITY OF THE PERSONAL SENSE OVER THE IMPERSONAL AND PANTHEISTIC SENSE.

Pantheism is not the primitive belief of man. Mankind are first monotheists or polytheists, and then pantheists. The belief in personal gods ruling over nature and controlling the affairs of men, if not innate, is certainly exceedingly natural. Men have been found without letters, without clothes, without organized government, without houses, but where have they been found without gods? It requires no great advancement in thought, in knowledge, or in

* Rev. John Chalmers in his book on the "Question of Terms, etc.," admi's in effect that etymologically the word 神 *shên* contains in it the idea of *divinity*. He, however, passes over the fact by simply remarking, "*If any part of the etymological contents of a word is entirely lost, it is to all intents and purposes the same as if it had never been there.*" The *assumption* which this remark makes needs proof. What evidence is there that *shên* has "entirely lost" the idea of divinity which is implied in its etymology? Have the Chinese given over sacrificing to their *shên?* Have they ceased praying to them, or worshipping them, or attributing happiness or misery to them? Do modern Chinese dictionaries give any intimation that this word has lost its etymological sense? On what authority does Dr. Chalmers intimate that this word has lost its etymological sense? Still further, if *shên had* lost its etymological sense, it would not be all the same as if it had never had it. It would still prove what was its *primary* sense and create a strong presumption that it would be found to have this sense in the classical and other ancient books.

civilization to attain the idea that there are gods. It is different, however, with the metaphysical speculations which are the basis of ideal pantheism. In order to reach this pantheistic idea a process of reasoning is necessary, which requires some degree of mental cultivation and advancement in knowledge ; and to elaborate it into a metaphysical theory of cosmogony as was done by the sages of China, necessitates not a few subtle and involved processes of thought. In a word, pantheism as a philosophical system is the result of long and deep thinking over the dark problems of universal being, while the recognition of personal gods is the direct intuition of a moral instinct. Dorman in his "Origin of Primitive Superstitions," says : "The principles that control all religious thought among primitive peoples will work themselves out in polytheism among those peoples of a lower stage of culture, or in pantheism among those of higher culture." Christleib in his "Conflict of Christianity with Paganism," says : "Pantheism and polytheism are but a higher and a lower form of one and the same view of the world. The former is the refined, the latter the vulgar form of deifying nature. The former seeks after unity amid the individual phenomena, the latter stops short at and personifies them." The personal idea is naturally and necessarily the primitive one, the pantheistic idea is the secondary one. No nation or people ever conceived the pantheistic idea directly, and subsequently arrived at the personal idea by a deduction. Hence on the ground of natural order, we are fully entitled to assume, *a priori*, that the personal sense was the primary one.

USAGE SHOWS THAT THE APPLICATION OF 神 SHÊN TO THE SOULS OF LIVING MEN IS MODERN AS COMPARED WITH THE SENSE OF DIVINITY.

It is not thus applied in the text of the Four Books or Five Classics, including the Book of Changes, which is probably the oldest Chinese book extant.* It may be in the commentaries written by later hands, but not in the text. It is not found in the Bamboo Annals, which, if not as old as the Book of Changes are certainly very ancient. It is not found in the *Shan-hai-ching* (山 海 經), which is held to be at least as old as the Chou dynasty. It does not occur in the text of the Chou-li 周 禮, generally supposed to have been the work of Chou Kung, before the time of Confucius. This use of the word is

* In all these classics, *shén* is used by far the larger number of times of invisible personal beings, including of course the names of the dead, who are, as we have seen, regarded (each by his own posterity) as gods. It is also sometimes used pantheistically of the soul of nature, and, in a few cases, in analyzing the human soul. *Shên* is spoken of as constituting a part of it but it is never, I think, used for the spiritual part of a living man.

manifestly more modern. It is a natural outgrowth of pantheistic speculations, and is found most frequently in highly pantheistic writers. It is much used by medical men in their philosophy of diseases and their cure. It is also very frequent among Taoist writers. Dr. Chalmers gives some 260 instances of *shên* applied to the soul, but *there is not a single one from the Chinese classics.* They are from modern miscellaneous literature, chiefly Taoistic. When he comes to give examples of *shên* meaning invisible beings, he has classical quotations not a few. From his *order*, he would have us believe that soul or the human spirit is the primitive sense. But the dates of his citations show the fallacy of the order he has adopted. On the other hand, we find *shên* in the sense of divinity, or invisible beings, used in all the classics, as well as in all other ancient books. In the Book of Changes proper, exclusive of Confucian comments, *shên* occurs five times. Three times it is connected with *kuei* 鬼, and in each case it is clear that invisible beings are referred to; in two of these cases the two words are connected with *jen* (人), men, making the threefold classification of men, demons, and gods; in the other case they are represented as sending calamities and blessings. In the other two instances, it is connected with *tao* 道, meaning divine doctrines, or divine reason. In the explanations by Confucius, *shên* is used several times as an adjective meaning divine, but most frequently pantheistically of the soul, or mind of nature. In the Bamboo Annals it occurs nine times; three times as an adjective, meaning divine, and six times meaning invisible beings. In the text proper of the *Shan-hai-ching* 山海經, *shên* occurs seventy-seven times; sometimes as an adjective meaning divine, but in the great majority of cases meaning worshipped beings. In the *Chou-li* 周禮, the word occurs twenty-four times, all referring to invisible beings, except three or four, which are adjectives.

Even if one or two instances of the application of *shên* to the soul of a living man should be found in ancient books, it would only prove that the natural deduction from pantheism had early been made in theory, while it would still remain that the common and frequent use of it is post classical. This peculiar use of the word *shên* will come up for special consideration by and by; for the present our only point is it show that it is a *modern,* and not *ancient* sense, and being modern, it is of necessity not primary, but secondary.

These considerations fully warrant the conclusion that *shên* meant god before it meant anything else, and that the other two senses in which it is used are derivative.

VIII. SHÊN MEANING THE DIVINE SOUL OF NATURE.

Having as I think shown that *shên* when applied to invisible personal beings means god, and also that this is its original and primary sense, I shall now proceed, according to the order already indicated, to consider the pantheistic sense, that is, *shên* used for the divine soul or spirit, which is supposed to pervade and animate all things.

The usage of the word pantheism has made it a very indefinite term. It has been applied to the most opposite theories. The majority of those in Christian lands who have been accounted pantheists, have either themselves disowned it, or it has been denied by their followers. This has grown out of the fact that orthodox Christians have always held pantheism to be inconsistent with the cardinal doctrines of the Bible. In heathen lands, however, pantheism has been the orthodox doctrine rather than otherwise, and has been avowed in one form or another by the majority of the learned, from the earliest ages to the present time. Pantheism has been defined as "the doctrine that god includes all reality, and is identical with it; nothing besides him really existing." (Manning: Half Truths and the Truth, page 74). This definition is framed to suit the pantheism of Christian lands It is too comprehensive and too logical to suit the pantheism of heathen lands. This latter may be defined as the doctrine that god is the spirit, soul, or animating principle of the universe. This being the general idea, various modifications of it have characterized the peoples of Asia, all of whom are more or less pantheistic. The most prominent characteristics of Chinese pantheism, distinguishing it from other systems, are the following: 1. The divine essence or spirit supposed to animate nature is generally, though not always, represented as a dual power or being. 2. No work of creation proper is ascribed to this divine spirit, either of things in heaven or of things in earth, animate or inanimate; all is evolution. 3. The deification of the soul, which is a logical element of all pantheism, has been carried out to a greater degree in China than in any other nation. These peculiarities, as far as they concern the present, discussion, will come into view as we proceed. The word shên is the pivot on which Chinese pantheism turns. This is the *divine* essence or *spirit* which pervades and animates all forms of matter. The pantheistic use of the word *shên* is found in almost every branch of Chinese literature, from the Book of Changes downward. Its pantheistic sense is, however, most fully developed and abundantly illustrated in the cosmological and metaphysical writings of the Sung dynasty.

I will now cite a number of passages illustrating the pantheistic sense and usage of the word *shên*.

1. 萬物一物也,萬神一神也,斯道之至矣. 齊丘子.

All things are one thing. All gods are one god; this is the most essential of all truth.

2. 千神萬神都是一神. 俗語.

All the host of gods are but one god.

The first of these extracts is a categorical statement of the absolute unity of all material things, and the like unity of all divine beings; and the emphatic assertion is added that this is the most essential of all truths. It is, in fact, the everywhere present theory of Chinese metaphysical speculation. The second sentence is the colloquial expression of the same general idea. The sentence is given by Mr. Scarborough in his "Chinese Proverbs," and is translated as above. Though in preaching he used *shên* in the sense of *spirit*, yet in this sentence he could not translate it other than *god*.

3. 神無方,易無體,大且一而已. 正蒙.

The deity (shên) is without locality, evolution is without corporeity. It (shên) is great, yet only one.

4. 神者易之主也,所以無方,易者神之用也,所以無體. 皇極經世.

Shên is the master of evolution, and is therefore omnipresent. Evolution is the operation of the shên, and is therefore incorporeal.

The phrases 神無方 and 易無體, are stereotyped forms of expression taken from the Book of Changes, which are continually recurring in books on metaphysical subjects. The meaning is that *shên*, being essentially all-pervading, is not confined to any one locality, but is everywhere alike; while change, that is evolution, which as here stated, is presided over by *shên*, being a process, and not an entity, has no body or substance.

5. 物形有大小精粗之不同,神則一而已.

The forms of (material) things differ in respect to size and quality, yet the divinity (which pervades them) is but one.

When, as in these extracts, *shên* is used pantheistically, it is difficult to translate, and being the word whose meaning is in question, is often best left untranslated. I have in this case translated it "divine spirit" or "essence." Either of these combinations conveys to the reader the true sense, as nearly as the English language will admit. In a few cases "deity" or (as an adjective) "divine," will express the meaning fairly well. Christianity has given the word God such an exalted and intensely personal sense that it expresses too much. The Chinese word god (shên) has, however, been so long and so frequently used in this

abnormal pantheistic sense that it sounds quite natural to the Chinese ear.

6. 一故神,橫渠親注云,兩在故不測,只是這一物,却周行乎事物之間.如所謂陰陽屈伸往來上下以至於行乎什百千萬之中,無非這一个物事. 朱子全書

One, and therefore divine (shên), which Hêng Ch'ü himself explains thus: "That which is in both (the light and the darkness), and is therefore incomprehensible, is just this one thing, which nevertheless circulates throughout all things. For example, that which is spoken of as light and darkness, as contracting and expanding, going and coming, ascending and descending, until it interpenetrates the whole universe, is nothing else than this one thing."

The idea is that that which gives unity to the dual forces in nature, is the divine spirit (shên). Being in both of these forces, and combining them for harmonious action, it is incomprehensible and divine. Its unity is the thing that makes it divine. These passages assert the unity of the *shên* which pervades the universe. This idea of unity is a prominent one with all pantheists. God is *the* unity, the ONE which includes all possible manifestations. Thus Aristotle giving an account of Xenophanes says, "Xenophanes declared that the One is God." And again, "All that is really being is God. He is one and all things." Heraclitus, says "Unite the whole and the not whole, the coalescing and the not coalescing, the harmonious and the discordant, and thus we have the one becoming from the all, and the all from the one." Parmenides frequently called God "The One."

Emerson says: "The ultimate fact we reach on every topic, is the resolution of all into the ever blessed ONE.

These extracts show how completely the ideas of Western pantheists agree with what the Chinese affirm of their *shên*.

7. 地以質爲質,而以氣爲神. 皇極經世.

The earth has matter for its substance and ether for its divine soul (shên).

8. 神則不離於形,而不囿於形矣. 通書.

The divine essence (shên) is not separated from form, yet is not limited by form.

These two passages show the relationship which the Chinese imagine exists between their *shên* and external nature. They are spiritual, rather than material, pantheists.

9. 萬物形色,神之糟粕.性於天道云者,易而已矣. 正蒙.

The material forms and colors of all things are the sediment (coarser parts) of the deity (Shên). Nature and heavenly reason are simply other names for evolution.

Compare with this the following summation of Brahministic doctrine given in Hunt's Essays on Pantheism: "As milk curdles, as water freezes, as vapor condenses, so was the universe formed from the coagulation of the divine substance."

10. 虛明照鑑, 神之明也, 無遠近幽深利用出入, 神之充塞無間也. 正蒙.

That which is brightly mirrored forth in space, is the brightness of the deity (shên). That which is independent of distance, profundity, benefit, and manifestation, is the deity (shên) in its all-pervading fulness.

This definition approximates very nearly to that learned synonym for God, the *Unconditioned*.

11. 非其聖心以乘聰明, 孰能存天地之神. 史記.

Without the mind of the sage to improve the talents (confused), who is able to retain the divine essence (shên) of heaven and earth?

This extract assumes the truth of the inference which pantheism of necessity includes, that the human soul is portion of the divine essence. It also implies the idea held by the Chinese that this divine portion may be conserved or dissipated by the action of the individual.

IX. DUALISM.

As already noted, the divinity of Chinese pantheism is a dual power or essence. It is compounded of the two parts—鬼 *kuei* and 神 *shên*—corresponding to the 陰 *yin* and 陽 *yang* of grosser matter and to the 乾 *k'ien* and 坤 *k'un* in the symbolic language of divination. When used personally, the term 鬼神 *kwei-shên* is a comprehensive designation of invisible beings, the meaning of which has already been considered. When used impersonally, the term *kwei-shên* means the supposed divine principle, essence or spirit, inherent in all nature, the cause of life, and of every change and transformation. Thus used the term is always written *kwei-shên*, and never *shên-kwei*, as it often is when used personally. The distinctions made between the parts of the compound term, are fully exhibited in the following extract from the section on *kwei-shên* in the 性理大全, "Complete Metaphysics."

大抵鬼神只是陰陽二氣, 主屈伸往來者言之, 神是陽之靈, 鬼是陰之靈. 靈云者, 只是自然屈伸往來, 恁地活爾. 自一氣言之, 則氣之方伸而來者屬陽, 爲神,

氣之已屈而往者屬陰，爲鬼. 如春夏是氣之方長屬陽爲神，秋冬是氣之已退屬陰爲鬼. 其實二氣，亦只是一氣耳. 天地間無物不是陰陽，陰陽無所不在，則鬼神亦無所不有. 大抵神之爲言伸也，伸是氣之方長者也，鬼之爲言歸也，歸是氣之已退者也. 自天地言之，天屬陽神也，地屬陰鬼也. 就四時言之，春夏氣之伸屬神，秋冬氣之屈屬鬼. 又自晝夜分之，晝屬神，夜屬鬼. 就日月言之，日屬神，月屬鬼. 又如鼓之以雷霆，潤之以風雨，是氣之伸屬神，及至收斂後，帖然無踪迹，是氣之歸屬鬼. 以一日言之，則早起日方升屬神，午以後漸退屬鬼. 以月言之，則月初三生來屬神，到十五以後屬鬼. 如草木生枝生葉時屬神，衰落時屬鬼. 如潮之來屬神，潮之退屬鬼. 凡氣之伸者皆爲陽屬神，凡氣之屈者皆爲陰屬鬼.

Speaking generally, kwei-shên is simply a term for the two ethers, yin and yang, which preside over the (processes of) contracting and expanding, advancing and departing. Shên is the spirit (ling) of the yang, and kwei is the spirit (ling) of the yin. By spirit is meant this spontaneous contracting and expanding, advancing and departing, as if a living thing. Regarding the kwei-shên as one spirit (breath), then, when this spirit is expanding and advancing, it is allied to the yang, and is shên; when it has contracted and is departing, it is allied to the yin, and is kwei. Thus the spring and summer being the expanding of this spirit (breath) are allied to the yang and are shên. Autumn and winter being the retiring of this spirit (breath), are allied to the yin and are kwei. In point of fact, however, the two spirits (breaths) are but one spirit (breath). There is nothing in heaven and earth which is not a combination of the dual ethers (yin and yang). These dual ethers are omnipresent, and hence the kwei-shên (which is their operating principle) is all-pervading. In general, the meaning of the term shên is to expand, and this "expanding" is spirit (breath) in the process of increasing. The meaning of the term kwei is to return, which "returning" is the spirit (breath) in its reverted state. As it regards heaven and earth, heaven is allied to the yang, and is shên; earth is allied to the yin, and is kwei. Referring to the seasons, spring and summer are the expanding of the spirit (breath) and are shên; autumn and winter are the contracting of the spirit (breath) and are kwei. Again, applying the same distinction to day and night, the day is shên and the night is kwei. As to the sun and moon, the sun is shên and the moon is kwei. As to such things as the pealing of the thunder and the moistening of the wind and rain, they are the expanding of the spirit (breath) and are allied to shên; when they have collected and collapse without trace, it is the reverting of the spirit (breath) and is allied to kwei. Speaking with reference

to a day, the morning when the sun is ascending is shên; after midday, when he is gradually declining, this is kwei. Speaking with reference to a month, when the moon first appears on the third, this is shên; after the fifteenth, it is kwei. Grass and trees when they are sending forth shoots and leaves, are shên; when the leaves are falling, they are kwei. The rising tide is shên, the falling tide is kwei. In all cases, when the spirit (breath) is expanding, it is yang, and is classed as shên; and when the spirit (breath) is contracting, it is yin, and is classed as kwei.

These distinctions between the *kwei* and the *shên* form the staple of Chinese philosophy on this subject. On these and others like them, the changes are continually rung. Many of these distinctions are purely fanciful, and most of them will be found on examination to be of comparatively modern date. They are found in abundance in the commentaries, but not in the text of the classics. The "expanding" and "contracting" of which so much is made in these explanations, is based on the assumed etymology of 神 *shên* and 鬼 *kwei*. The phonetic part of *shên*, that is 申, gives the idea of expanding, and the word 歸, a character of similar sound with 鬼 *kwei*, gives the idea of reverting or contracting. Referring to these etymologies Dr. Edkins says, "Such explanations are useless, for, many centuries before they originated, the words (characters) were in common use." All analogy goes to prove that the 申 part of the character 神 is simply phonetic, the meaning being indicated by the radical 示. The term *kwei-shên*, though double in form is, when used pantheistically, substantially one. This is distinctly stated in the extract given above, and similar statements are of frequent occurrence. The distinction is not that of two substances, but rather that of different states and aspects of one substance. The word *shên* is the leading word, which really includes the other. *Shên* is often used alone, with the sense of the two, as is seen in the extracts already given. *Kwei*, however, is never so used.*

The following extracts will serve to illustrate the pantheistic sense and usage of this compound term:—

1. 此所以成變化而行鬼神也. 易經繫辭.

It is by these (numbers) that transformations are effected, and the divine essence (or demon-god kwei-shên) acts.

The numbers referred to are the numbers and strokes in the various diagrams. The acting of the divine spirit refers both to its operations in nature and to the responses given to the diviner who

*This assertion is made with reference to that divine essence which is supposed to circulate through the universe. When used personally, the word *shén* does not usually include the *kwei*, and the *kwei* is found in a few cases as including the *shén*

uses the numbers. "Demon-god" represents what Greek philosophers would doubtless render *kwei-shên*.

2. 天地無一物不是陰陽, 則無一物不是鬼神. 性理大全.

There is nothing in heaven or earth which is not a combination of the dual ethers (yin and yang), hence there is nothing in which the divine essence (kwei-shên) does not inhere.

This sentence states briefly the "summum totum" of Chinese pantheistic philosophy. The dual breath or material spirit (氣 ch'i) exists in everything, and hence the divine essence which is the operating power of this dual breath, is likewise omnipresent. If the concluding part of the sentence were rendered, as would seem quite natural, "Hence there is nothing which is not composed of this divine essence," then the theory of Chinese pantheism would seem to be somewhat materialistic. This, however, it is not, save in isolated cases. The orthodox view is well presented in the following from a well-known classic (通書) on the subject: 神則不離於形而不囿於形矣. *The divine does not exist apart from form, yet it is not limited by form.*

3. 鬼神之爲德其盛矣乎, 視之而弗見, 聽之而弗聞, 體物而不可遺. 使天下之人齊明盛服, 以承祭祀, 洋洋乎如在其上, 如在其左右. 中庸.

How abundantly do spiritual beings (kwei-shên) display the powers that belong to them! We look for them, but do not see them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nothing without them. They cause all the people in the empire to fast and purify themselves and array themselves in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left (of their worshippers.)

This is the golden text of Chinese pantheism. The translation is that given by Dr. Legge. He translates as if the term *kwei-shên* were wholly personal and plural. This, I think, is a mistake, and does not give a correct view of the passage. The term is rather impersonal than personal, though not wholly the one or the other. As often happens, both with Chinese and with other pantheists, the personal and the impersonal pass imperceptibly from the one to the other. The commentators who are now accepted as the standard in China, clearly make *kwei-shên* impersonal, and with them no doubt the great majority of living Chinese scholars. The passage is worthy of a very careful examination, not only because it is from one of the best known Chinese classics, but especially because it contains the pith of Chinese pantheistic philosophy. The whole Chinese theory of nature may be found detailed in the various comments on this passage, than which no other is found more frequently quoted or referred to by writers on metaphysical subjects.

Let the reader carefully examine the following extracts from the commentaries, which are but specimens of many that might be given:—

a. 天地間屈伸往來, 總是陰陽之氣, 而氣之靈處謂之鬼神. 夫鬼神之爲德也, 至無而含至有, 至虛而統至實, 蓋極充滿流行之盛矣乎. 鬼神只是個陰陽屈伸之氣. 獨曰鬼神者, 自其精英流動處言之也.

That thing in the midst of heaven and earth which contracts and expands, advances and recedes, is simply the spirit (ch'i) of the dual ether, and the spiritual (or efficacious) part of that breath is called deity (kwei-shên). The virtus of the divine essence (kwei-shên) is in the highest degree negative, yet includes the highest degree of that which is positive; it is in the highest degree unsubstantial, yet comprehends all reality, for it perfectly fills and pervades all things with its fulness. This divine essence (kwei-shên) is merely the contracting and expanding breath (or spirit) of the dual ethers. The special reason why it is called divine essence (Kwei-shên) arises from its subtle vigor and all-pervading character.

b. 何以見鬼神之德之盛, 蓋鬼神無形也, 視之而弗見, 無聲也, 聽之而弗聞, 然無形聲, 而實遍體乎形聲之中. 物之初生, 氣日至而滋息, 神之至而伸也. 物生既盈, 氣自反而游散, 鬼之返而歸也. 蓋體物而物不可遺焉, 鬼神之德之盛何如哉.

How can we see the all-pervading virtus of the kwei-shên? For the kwei-shên has no form; by looking we cannot see it, and by listening we cannot hear it, and yet, formless and soundless as it is, it really enters into the very centre of form and sound. When things are first produced, the breath (or spirit, 氣) daily advances and grows; this is the advancing and expanding of the shên. When things have arrived at their fulness and perfection, the breath (氣) daily reverts and is dispersed; this is the reverting and returning of the kwei. Seeing then that it enters into all things, and that there is nothing without it, how all-pervading is the virtus of kwei-shên.

c. 此節正言鬼神爲德之盛. 三句一連說, 歸重在體物不可遺上. 先言上二句者, 意要由微說到顯, 以見其盛耳. 不見不聞, 正是他體物不遺處, 無可見聞. 三句只一時事, 不分兩層, 體物是體乎物, 非先有物而後有鬼神, 乃先有鬼神而後有物, 及至有了物, 又不能遺乎鬼神. 鬼神卽在物中做物的骨子一般, 鬼神是主, 物是賓. 天地間只是這一個氣, 入毫釐絲忽裏去, 也是這陰陽, 包羅天地, 也是這陰陽.

This section speaks of the all-pervading virtus of the kwei-shên. The three clauses are connected together, but the chief stress is on the "entering into all things without exception." The author premises

the first two sentences with the view of proceeding from the abstruse to the evident, in order to show the all-pervading character of the kwei-shên. Its invisibility and inaudibility are exhibited in its entering into all things without exception, still being invisible and inaudible. The three sentences all refer to the business of one time, and are not separable into two parts. The entering of the kwei-shên into things, means that it imbodies (or gives substance to) them, not that the things first existed and afterwards the kwei-shên, but the kwei-shên first existed, and afterwards the things, so that when the things had come into being, they could not be destitute of the kwei-shên. The kwei-shên is within things, and constitutes, as it were, their bones; the kwei-shên is the host, the things the guest. In all heaven and earth there is nothing but this one breath or spirit, 氣*; that which enters into every part, particle, fibre, and atom is this dual ether; that which infolds heaven and earth, is this dual ether.*

d. 凡可狀皆有也，凡有皆象也，凡象皆氣也，氣之象本虛而神，則神與性乃氣所固有，此鬼神所以體物而不可遺也. 本義匯.

Whatever can assume an appearance exists, whatever exists has form, whatever possesses form has a breath or spirit (氣). *The nature of this breath or spirit is fundamentally ethereal (empty) and divine* (神), *thus it is that divinity* (神) *and essential attributes* (性) *are originally possessed by this breath or spirit* (氣). *and this is the way in which the kwei-shên enters into all things without exception.*

A careful perusal of these passages can hardly fail to convince an impartial reader that what is meant by *shên* and *kwei-shên* is not spirits as separate personal entities, but one infinite, all pervading, universally operative spirit which, though one in essence, is supposed to have a dual constitution or manifestation. Dr. Legge expressly admits that precisely what is affirmed of *kwei-shên* in the phrase 體物而不可遺. "They pervade all things without exception," cannot be determined. This is not at all strange on his interpretation, which refers the *kwei-shên* to separate personal spirits. Chinese interpreters say, as in the third extract given above, that this clause *is the key to the meaning of the whole passage*. Hence if its meaning is undetermined, the whole passage, together with the far-reaching theories connected with it, are all left in confusion. No satisfactory sense can be gotten out of the passage except that which springs from regarding the *kwei-shên* as an omnipresent spiritual unity which fills all space and permeates all things. No other conception will at all satisfy the requirements of the case or give coherence and consistency to the explanations of the commentators. Dr. Legge, in speaking of these explanations, says: "It is difficult—not to say impossible—to conceive to one's

self what is meant by such descriptions." The reason of this failure to conceive the meaning is not far to seek. It arises from reading into the passage and the commentaries the Christian and personal sense of the words God and spirit, instead of consenting to take the attitude of the Chinese pantheist. The conception is vague at best. All error is wanting in consistency, and this Chinese theory of the divine existence is no exception to the rule. Those who maintain that *shên* means spirit, lay great stress on what is here said: "We look for it, but do not see it; we listen, but do not hear it." No doubt this is highly applicable to spirit, but then it is just as applicable to divinity. If it were predicated of spirit in an abstract or generic way, it would have some force; but the context clearly points to that *one* divine essence or spirit which is supposed to fill all things. The Chinese commentator expressly affirms that "the invisibility and inaudibility of the *kwei-shên* is exhibited in its entering into all things without exception." That there are individual spirits dwelling in and presiding over every particular and separate being and thing (a theory sometimes advanced by Chinese moralists), is not at all the meaning, but rather that *one* divine essence pervades *all*. The essential unity of this essence, of which every god, man, etc., is but a special manifestation, is frequently asserted and everywhere assumed by the Chinese. In the nature of the case, this *one* omnipresent spirit can be no other than the divine spirit, as conceived from the pantheistic standpoint. It is for this reason that the terms "divine spirit" and "divine essence" have been used in translating.

The following comments have reference to the clause beginning 使天下之人齊明, *etc.* *It causes all the men in the empire, etc.*

e. 何以見其體物不遺哉,試以易見者驗之,當祭祀時,鬼神之靈,能使天下之人,各隨其所當祭者,齋明以肅於內,盛服以肅於外,以承乎祭祀. 此時但見鬼神之精英發見昭著,洋洋乎流動充滿,如在其上,如在其左右焉,此可見鬼神無往不在,而爲體物不遺之一驗也.

How does it appear that the kwei-shên enters into all things without exception? It may be shown from things that are readily seen. At the period of sacrificing, the energy of the kwei-shên is such that it is able to cause all men in the empire, whilst severally offering the sacrifices suited to their stations, to fast and purify themselves, so as to promote veneration within, to clothe themselves in ceremonial robes in order to show respect without, and so offer their sacrifices. At such times the subtle vigor of the kwei-shên may be seen manifestly displayed, diffusing its fulness through the whole expanse as if above and on either side of the worshippers.

From this we see that the kwei-shên is everywhere present, which is a proof that it pervades all things without exception.

The commentator here affirms that the impulse to sacrifice comes from the inspiration of the *kwei-shên*, which at the time is "manifestly displayed, diffusing its fulness through the whole expanse," language which is not descriptive of a multitude of spirits, but rather of one spirit everywhere diffused; and in pursuance of this idea, he goes on to draw the conclusion that the *kwei-shên* is omnipresent and so of course pervades everything without exception. Personality is merged in the universally diffused spirit which underlies all material things.

f. 體物所包甚闊, 凡天地造化, 人生氣血盛衰, 草木榮枯, 物類生死, 莫非鬼神. 此則就無所不包中提出所當祭祀的來說, 蓋恐人將氣機之鬼神, 與祭享之鬼神, 認作兩般. 故卽其親切著見者言之, 欲人會之爲一也.

The expression "entering into all things" is very comprehensive. The making and transforming of heaven and earth, the growth and decay of the vital powers of living men, the blooming and withering of plants and trees, with the life and death of all classes of things, are entirely due to the kwei-shên. This latter part passes on from that which is all-comprehensive, to make special mention of that (or those) which is to be sacrificed to, and this is done lest anyone should suppose that the kwei-shên of the spiritual mechanism (or nature) is different from the kwei-shên who enjoy sacrifices. Hence he (the author) speaks of what is near at hand and clearly manifested, wishing men to understand that they (the kwei-shên of the spiritual mechanism, and the kwei-shên of sacrifices), are the same Let it be particularly noted how this commentator (who is but one of many) expressly particularizes the *kwei-shên* of the spiritual mechanism and the *kwei-shên* of sacrifices, asserting that the latter is but a part or example of the former, and explicitly declares that they are identical and are both included in the text. This is as plain a declaration as a pantheistic polytheist could possibly make that the divine essence, which he holds to pervade all nature, is the same with the gods he worships, and that the term by which he designates this being or essence includes and expresses this idea. Dr. Medhurst, after quoting the above and numerous other comments on this passage, says in conclusion: "From the above we perceive that the *kwei-shên* of the Confucian school are the spiritual energies of nature as well as the spiritual energies of human forms." But what "spiritual energies" *are there in nature other than the divine spirit, and what nation or people have ever imagined a spiritual energy to pervade all nature which they did not identify with the divine being!* It should also be further observed that if the "spirit

ual energies of human forms" are the same as those of nature, then of course it follows that the human soul is one with God, that is, it is divine.

In all these comments, it will be noticed that 氣 (ch'i) breath or air, is used to define and explain the term *kwei-shên;* moreover the word breath or air is not used in a gross or literal sense, but is itself already figurative, measuring something in the highest degree subtle and tenuous; it in fact expresses the Chinese idea of spirit, and should be so translated, as has been done by Dr. Medhurst in many cases in his translations of comments on this passage,—all, in fact, in which he does not transfer the term. If then *kwei-shên* means simply spirit, as we are told, what is gained by defining it by another word which also means spirit, or what is the sense of such expressions as 鬼神只是个陰陽屈伸之氣 "*spirit (or the spirits) is simply the contracting and expanding spirit of the dual ether?*" To make consistent sense, *kwei-shên* must mean something more than spirit. If, however, *kwei-shên* means the divine nature or spirit, the sense is both consistent and forcible. Nothing is more natural than that "spirit" should be used to define and explain the divine nature. The best definition that Christianity has ever given of God, begins by saying that He is a spirit (a breath), and in all lands spirituality is a primary idea in the conception of deity. More especially is this true in the pantheistic conception of God, in which the ideas of spirituality and divinity approximate, in fact, coalesce.

It will no doubt occur to the mind of the reader that making 氣 equal to spirit, is making spirit material. This no doubt it is to a certain extent, and this is, in fact, the Chinese idea of spirit. The 氣 (ch'i) is always used to define *kwei-shên*, and in the 本義匯參 is a discussion whether on this account the *kwei-shên* is to be considered immaterial (形而上) or material (形而下), and the conclusion is reached that it partakes of both and is between the two. Nor are the Chinese alone in this idea. Kitto in his Biblical Encyclopædia says: "The modern idea of spirit was unknown to the ancients; they conceived spirits to be incorporeal and invisible, but not immaterial, and supposed their essence to be a pure air or a subtle fire." Almost all nations have taken a word meaning air or breath for spirit, and it is a fair question whether after all this word 氣 is not the very word which should have been taken for spirit in Chinese. The materialistic ideas connected with it do not constitute a valid objection, just as they did not in the case of the words adopted in Greek and Latin. Having said so much on this golden text of Chinese pantheism, space will allow but three or four additional representative passages on this head.

4. 鬼神者周流天地之間，無所不在. 雖寂然不動，而有感必通，雖無形無聲，而有所謂昭昭不可欺者. 性理大全.

The kwei-shên is that which circulates throughout heaven and earth, and is everywhere present. Although silent and motionless, yet it will not fail to respond to any impression made on it; although without form or sound, yet it has what is described as a luminous perception which cannot be deceived.

This passage, though quoted from the "Compend of Metaphysics," has evidently been suggested by the passage in the Chung-yung. While intensely pantheistic in the first part, yet it brings out at the close a shade of personality, attributing to the divine essence which circulates through heaven and earth an intimate acquaintance with, and infallible knowledge of, men's actions—an attribute, not of spirituality as such, but of divinity.

5. 下生五穀，上爲列星，流於天地之間，謂之鬼神. 管子.

That which below produces grains, and above becomes the stars, and which circulates through heaven and earth, is called the divine spirit (kwei-shên).

6. 子曰知變化之道者，其知神之所爲乎. 易經繫辭.

The master said, "He who understands the philosophy of transformations, how profound is his knowledge of what God does."

The Chinese are out-and-out evolutionists, but they do not exclude God from the process. On the contrary, they recognize the activity of the divine being in all the changes and transformations of nature.

7. 祭五祀想也，只是當如此致敬，未必有此神. 曰神也者妙萬物爲言者也，盈天地之間皆神. 若說五祀無神，則是有有神處，有無神處，是甚麼道理. 朱子全書

I presume it is merely that the five sacrificial offerings ought to be made in this way in order to show respect. It is not probable that there are any such gods. Ans., God is the title of him who adorns all things. All heaven and earth are full of God. If you say that God is not present at the sacrifices, that amounts to saying that there are places where God is and places where He is not. What sort of a doctrine is that?

Chu Tsï was a pantheistic atheist, and being unwilling to be reported as denying the presence of the gods at the sacrifices, and thus contravening the doctrine of the sages, he explains away the idea on pantheistic principles. He uses *shên* practically, if not indeed really, by way of eminence.

8. 程子云，鬼神者造化之迹. 張子云，鬼神者二氣之良能. 性理大全.

Ch'êng Tsï says, "*The divine essence is that which has left its mark in creation and transformation.*" *Chang Tsï says,* "*The divine spirit is what constitutes the admirable efficacy of the dual ether.*" This last sentence consists of two famous definitions or descriptions of *kwei-shên*. They are found constantly quoted by Chinese authors when speaking on this subject. They are expressed with the usual enigmatical brevity. As definitions of a pantheistic divinity, they are highly appropriate. As definitions of "spirit" simply as such, they are wholly unsuitable and meaningless.

X. SYNONYMS OF SHÊN.

Pantheism delights to use various approximate terms by which to designate its God. This it does in order to show the peculiar character of its divinity and in order to manifest his impersonality. This practice is found also amongst the Chinese. Thus we have 心 *hsin*, 道 *tao*, 理 *li*, etc., used in this way. When Chinese pantheists wish to bring out simply the intelligence of their divinity, and to mark his analogy with the human soul, they use the term 心 *hsin* (heart).

1. 復其見天地之心乎. 易經.

In this return (of secular transformation) is not the mind of heaven and earth manifested?

2. 天地之心亦靈否, 還只是漠然無爲. 曰, 天地之心不可道是不靈, 但不如人恁地思慮. 朱子全書.

Being asked whether the mind of heaven and earth is intelligent, or whether it is quite devoid of thought and passive, he said, "*We must not say that the mind of heaven and earth is not intelligent, but it does not worry as men do.*"

3. 天地以此心普及萬物. 人得之爲人之心, 物得之遂爲物之心, 草木禽獸接着, 遂爲草木禽獸之心, 只是一个天地之心爾. 朱子全書.

Heaven and earth with this mind extends itself to the myriad of things. Man obtains it, and then it is the mind of man; things obtain it, and then it is the mind of things. Grass, trees, birds, and beasts obtain it, and then it is the mind of grass, trees, birds, and beasts. Still it is but the one mind of heaven and earth.

4. 聖人知變化之道, 則所行者無非天地之事矣. 通神明之德, 則所存者無非天地之心矣. 性理大全.

The sage understands the philosophy of transformations, hence his actions cannot but accord with the course of affairs in heaven and earth. He comprehends the virtues of the divine being (shên ming), hence his thoughts cannot but accord with the mind of heaven and earth.

5. 神是天地之心, 化是天地之用, 性理大全.

God (shên) is the mind of heaven and earth, and transformation is the activity of heaven and earth.

6. 天地之心者, 生萬物之本也. 天地之情者, 情狀也, 與鬼神之情狀同. 皇極經世.

The mind of heaven and earth is the origin of the production of all things. The disposition of heaven and earth is its character, which is identical with the character of god (kwei-shên).

In the first three of these sentences the term mind (心 hsin) is clearly used as a synonym for god, and in the third, especially, the pantheistic character of this divinity is clearly shown. In the last three this same mind is expressly connected with *shên*, as that to which it refers and for which it is used. In the fifth sentence *shên* is explicitly defined as the mind of heaven and earth, which in the sixth is declared to be the origin of all things.

When the Chinese wish to lay stress on the conformity of all things to natural law or necessity, they use 理 *li* (law) for god.

1. 天者理而已矣. 通鑑綱目.

Heaven is nothing more than law.

2. 天地之間有理有氣. 理也者, 形而上之道也, 生物之本也, 氣也者, 形而下之器也, 生物之具也. 朱子全書.

*In heaven and earth there is nothing but fate and air. Fate is incorporeal reason, the origin of life; air is the corporeal vessel, the receptacle of life.**

3. 理則神而莫測. 通書.

Fate (or law) is divine and unfathomable.

4. 問所謂神者, 是天地之造化否. 曰神者卽此理也. 通書.

Being asked if that which is called shên is the evolving energy of heaven and earth or not, he replied shên is just this law (of evolution).

5. 化底是氣, 故喚做天地之事. 神底是理, 故喚做天地之志. 西銘.

Transformation pertains to air (or spirit), and hence it is called the activity of heaven and earth. Shên pertains to law (or fate), and hence is called the will of heaven and earth.

The first of the above sentences enunciates what is the key-note of the philosophy of Chu Fu-tsï, of whom the Chinese say that "he alone fully comprehended the import of the doctrines of Confucius." The second sentence contains the same sentiment more fully expanded. The third, fourth, and fifth connect this fate or law with divinity (shên), and assert in explicit terms that they are synonymous. In this way the personality of the deity is effectually ruled out, which is the uniform result of pantheistic philosophy.

*Li (理) has generally been translated "fate" by Chinese scholars, thus Dr. Medhurst, Dr. Legge, Canon McClatchie, etc. The practice is not uniform, however, except it be in the case of Canon McClatchie. There are some connections in which law or reason seems much nearer the sense than fate. This might be expected from the fact that the common use of the word in other connections than cosmogony is "the rule of right reason."

Another synonym of *shên* is 道 *tao*, or reason, which is used to express the principle of order and of causation exhibited in all things.

1. 有形總是氣,無形只是道. 性理大全.

All that is corporeal, is air; that which is incorporeal, is reason alone.

2. 是故形而上者謂之道,形而下者謂之器. 易經繫辭.

Hence it is that the immaterial principle is called reason, the material principle is called its receptacle.

3. 感者性之神,性者感之體,惟屈伸動靜終始之能一也,故所以妙萬物而謂之神,通萬物而謂之道,體萬物而謂之性. 性理大全.

The power of exciting constitutes the divinity (shên) of nature (i.e., the inherent nature of all things), *and nature is the substance which is capable of excitation; but the expanding and contracting, the moving and resting, the beginning and ending, may be included in one. Therefore that which, as adorning all things, is called shên, as comprehending all things, is called reason, and as pervading (or giving substance to) all things, is called nature.*

4. 道與一,神之強名也,以神爲神至言也. 皇極經世.

Reason and unity are approximate designations of god (shên), but the perfect designation of god (shên) is god (shên).

5. 非有道不可言,不可言卽道. 非有道不可思,不可思卽道.....言之如吹影,思之如鏤塵. 聖知造迷,鬼神不識,惟不可爲,不可致,不可測,不可分,故曰天,曰命,曰神,曰玄,合曰道. 關尹子.

Without reason it is impossible to speak, yet that which cannot be spoken is reason; without reason it is impossible to think, yet that which cannot be thought is reason.....To try to speak it (reason), is like trying to blow away a shadow; to try to think it, is like trying to engrave the dust; even the wisdom of the sage only makes it obscure, and the very gods do not comprehend it; it cannot be acted, cannot be attained to, cannot be fathomed, cannot be divided, therefore it is called heaven, and fate, and god, and the empyrean, and, comprehensively, it is called reason.

The first two of these extracts exalt reason as in the highest degree abstract and immaterial. The same sentiment is found repeated in various forms in many authors. In the third extract, reason is classified with *shên* and with nature, and their substantial identity is affirmed. In the fourth, reason is expressly declared to be an approximate name for *shên*, the meaning of which, however, it fails to compass. The expression "The perfect designation of *shên* is *shên*," is worthy of note, showing as it does that in the Chinese mind the word *shên* has in it a profundity and a wealth of

meaning that transcends all synonyms and overleaps all definitions, a fact which constitutes no mean proof that it means God. In the fifth extract we have a Taoist panegyric on reason, in which it is classed with heaven, fate, god, etc., and made the crown of all. If Lao Tsï by 道 did not mean God, he meant that which in his system took the place of God, and was in a measure clothed with divine attributes.

Similar synonyms have been used for god by other nations, especially by pantheistic ones. Thus Diogenes Laertius says of the Stoics, "They teach that god is unity, and that he is called Mind, and Fate, and Jupiter, and by many other names." Cicero represents Chrysippus as teaching "That the divine power is placed in reason and the spirit and mind of universal nature." Also that "The divinity is the power of fate and the necessity of future events." (Nat. of Gods). Cicero says of Democritus, "He deified knowledge and understanding." (Nat. of Gods). Also, "Zeno thinks the law of nature to be the divinity." (Nat. of Gods).

The fact that such words as mind, law or fate, reason, unity, etc., are used as synonyms of *shên*, proves that it means god. Where in the world have such words ever been used as synonyms for spirit *in its generic sense?* Such usage cannot be found in any language, for it would make no intelligible sense.

The pantheistic use of the word *shên* by the Chinese, is in entire harmony with the usage of pantheists in all nations. Pantheism is essentially the doctrine of an all-pervading impersonal essence, breath, or spirit which is called god. This pantheistic doctrine or idea has been from ancient times widespread in the world.

The Greek philosophers generally were pantheists, especially the stoics. Brahminism and Buddhism have always been strongly pantheistic. Modern rationalists—French, German, English, and American—have been largely pantheistic. In order to show how their use of the word god corresponds with the Chinese use of the word *shên*, I will give a few quotations of pantheistic sentiment and language.

"The most subtle portion of the ether is called by the stoics the first god." *Diogenes Laertius.*

Cicero speaks of "That divine and sentient energy which expands throughout the universe." *Divination.*

"The substance of God is asserted by Zeno to be the universal world and the heaven; and Chrysippus agrees with this doctrine. Antipater says that his substance is aerial." *Diogenes Laertius.*

"Zeno thinks there is a certain rational essence pervading all nature endued with divine efficacy." *Cicero Nat. Gods.*

Diogenes Laertius and Cicero seem to have taken different views of Zeno's doctrine. The former makes him a material pantheist, holding that the material universe itself is God; whilst the latter makes him a spiritual pantheist, believing in one all-pervading spiritual essence. The two views continually run into each other. The Chinese theory, however, is distinctly spiritualistic.

Plato says, "The soul interfused everywhere from the centre to the circumference of heaven, of which she is the external envelopment, herself turning in herself, began a divine beginning of never ceasing and rational life enduring throughout all time." *Timacus.*

"As we ourselves are governed by a soul, so hath the world in like manner a soul that containeth it, and this is called Zeus, being the cause of life to all things that live." *Phornutus.*

"Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscat." *Virgil.*

These three extracts from classic sources all speak of the divine essence diffused throughout nature, but they do not speak of it as spirit, but as soul and mind, for the reason that the word spirit was not then used in this way.

Heraclitus defined God as "That most subtle and most swift substance which permeates and passes through the whole universe." *Cudworth.*

"God is called by all names to denote the diffusive spirit of the Supreme Being equally over all creatures by means of extension, for in this way his omnipresence is established." *Vedanta.*

"The vulgar look for their god in the water; men of more extended knowledge in the celestial bodies; the ignorant in wood, bricks, and stones; but learned men in the universal soul." *Vedanta.*

"God is the self-existent being which includes all, and beyond which no other can be imagined. The Infinite is identical with the universe." *M. Crousse.*

"Being, or the soul, is infinite by its nature. Being, or the soul, is permanent and unchangeable by its nature. Being, or the soul, is God by its nature." *Pierre Leroux.*

"It is God, immanent in the universe, in humanity, in each man, that I adore." *Pierre Leroux.*

"The true doctrine of omnipresence is that God reappears with all His parts in every moss and cobweb." *Emerson.*

"Let us worship the mighty and transcendent soul." *Emerson.*

"We learn that the highest is present to the soul of man; that the dread universal essence, which is not wisdom, or love, or beauty, or power, but all in one and each entirely, is that for which all things exist, and that by which they are; that spirit creates, that behind

nature, throughout nature, spirit is present, one and not compound. It does not act upon us from without, that is, in space and time, but spiritually or through ourselves; therefore that spirit, that is, the Supreme Being, does not build up nature around us, but puts it forth through us, as the life of the trees puts forth new branches and leaves through the pores of the old. As a plant on the earth so a man rests on the bosom of God." *Emerson.*

Here (as often) Emerson uses the word spirit somewhat as Chinese pantheists do the word *shên*, but he does not use it in its ordinary generic sense (that is, he does not call God *a spirit*), for he expressly defines it as meaning the Supreme Being. He uses it out of its ordinary sense as a convenient synonymn by which to describe the nature of his pantheistic divinity. In this sense only, *if at all*, can the Chinese word *shên* be said to mean spirit. It means the omnipresent *spirit* that fills the universe, that is, it means God.

"God then is universally present in the world of matter. He is the substantiality of matter. No atom of matter so despised and so little but God the infinite is there." *Theodore Parker.*

It would seem as if the author of this sentiment had been reading the "Doctrine of the Mean" and had transferred into modern thought the sentiment of the Chinese sage—"How abundantly does the divine spirit display its powers; we look for it but do not see it; we listen, but do not hear it; yet it enters into all things, and there is nothing without it."

"Infinity within, infinity without, belie creation,
The interminable spirit it contains
Is nature's only God." *Shelley.*

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul." *Pope.*

Such sentiments abound in pantheistic authors, but these specimens will suffice for the present purpose.

CONCLUSION.

Pantheism, whether viewed as a system of metaphysics or of religion, converges on the idea of God. This is the central and most important word of its terminology. Pantheists use this word in a different sense from other men, yet still use it, attaching to it their own peculiar meaning. This fact is abundantly shown by the writings of pantheists in all times and countries. Pantheists find God in everything, and hence their writings are full of this word, which we find them continually interchanging with other and cognate terms, such as Heaven, Soul, Mind, Spirit, Reason, Law,

Fate, Essence, Unity, Being, Nature, etc., desiring thereby to express the various powers, properties, attributes, etc., of the impersonal and inconceivable being which they call God. The terminology of pantheists in Christian lands differs somewhat from that of pantheists in heathen lands. The former uses the word god less and the words spirit and soul more than the latter. The reason of this is evident enough. Christianity has immeasurably exalted and dignified the word god, especially in respect of sacredness and personality, so that the pantheist finds he can only use it by a sort of constraint and out of its usual acceptation. On the other hand, nearly all systems of pantheisms in heathen lands are already imbued with polytheism, and no special sacredness or personal dignity surrounds the term god, so that it can be freely used, and that without violence to its general sense. In Christian lands pantheists make up for the less frequent use of the word god by the use of approximate equivalents, especially do they use the word spirit with great frequency. This grows out of the fact that the word *spirit* in English, and its equivalent in other Christianized languages, has been made to their hand by Christianity, and is admirably fitted to express one phase of their doctrine. Heathen nations have not generally had such a word. They make up the deficiency in part by the use of the words "mind" and "soul," and for the rest fall back on the word god, which, after all, answers their purpose best. The educated classes in China are pantheists, and have been for more than two thousand years. Their writings are full of it, and it has, as it were, saturated the language and literature of the whole country. The fact is generally admitted, and is only too apparent to all who are acquainted with the literature of China. Now what is the "*god*" of Chinese pantheism? What is the word around which their pantheistic ideas are ranged and to which they all gravitate? Undoubtedly it is the word "*shên.*" This fact has, I think, been sufficiently illustrated in the examples given above. This word is the pivot of their system which meets us at every turn and in every variety of usage. They use the words 天 *t'ien, heaven;* 乾 *ch'ien,* generative air; 心 *hsin,* mind; 理 *li,* fate; 道 *tao,* reason, etc., in conjunction with it, for the purpose of explaining and defining it, yet *shên* is *the* word which alone expresses in perfection all the attributes of their divinity. Thus a Chinese pantheist says pointedly (as quoted above), "*Reason and unity are approximate designations of god (shên), but the perfect designation of god is god.*"

Can any of those who think that 帝 means god furnish a collection of passages from the apostles of Chinese pantheism, such as Ch'êng Tsï, Chu Tsï, Chwang Tsï, Hwai Nan Tsï, etc., illustrating

and proving the point that Chinese pantheism centers in the word 帝 *Ti?* It is safe to say that no such collection can be produced. No doubt a few passages may be found in which pantheism is more or less associated with *Shang-ti* for the evident reason that *Shang-ti* being the chief of the gods, is sometimes put for the gods in general. Thus Ch'êng Tsï says, 聚天之神而言之則謂之上帝. "*The gods of heaven, taken collectively, are called Shang-ti.*" Zeus was used in precisely the same way by the Greeks. Thus Eusebius quotes Porphyrius as saying, "By Zeus the Greeks understood that mind of the world which pervades all things in it, and containeth the whole." Lucan says, "Whatever you see, and wherever you go, is Jupiter." Augustine, after a long list of Roman and Greek gods, says, "Let all these gods and goddesses and many more which I have not mentioned be one and the same Jupiter, whether as parts of him, which is agreeable to their opinion who hold him to be the soul of the world, or else as his virtus only, which is the sense of many and great pagan doctors."—*Cudworth.* Such usage in Chinese is, however, comparatively rare and confined to a very narrow range. Those who think that 帝 *Ti* means god, can hardly, in consistency with their view, use the term *pantheism* of the Chinese. They will have to coin still another new word and call the Chinese Panpneumatists. Here then are the facts. Pantheists in general make the word *god* the central word of their system. The Chinese are pantheists, and their pantheism focuses on the word *shên*. It follows from this that *shên* must mean god. This proof that *shên* means god, is not inferior in force to any of the proofs previously given. The pantheistic sense and use of the word *shên*, though not desirable in the Christian word god, yet proves none the less that this is the word in the Chinese language which means god.

Some have supposed that the pantheistic usage of the word *shên* is a serious objection to its use in giving Christianity to the Chinese. A little consideration will show that in the circumstances the objection is not valid. The difficulty is not in the word *shên*, but in the *fact* that the Chinese are full of pantheistic ideas. Christianity proposes to uproot these ideas, but it cannot be done by avoiding the use of this or that word for god. The word with which pantheism is concerned is precisely the word god, and on this very word the battle between it and Christianity must be fought. The prime question is, does the word *shên* mean properly "god" in the comprehensive and generic sense of that word? If so then the best and surest way to destroy false theology is to take this very word and by confining it to the true Christian sense, root out and destroy false and low ideas of God.

SHEN USED OF THE SOUL.

We come next in order to consider the application of the word *shên* to the human soul. That it is frequently so applied is conceded on all hands. The question is, in what sense is it so applied, and what does this application prove. Many make his use of the word their starting point, and from it infer that the word *shên* means spirit, and not god, and in consequence affirm that the gods which the Chinese worship are not gods, or at least that they are not called gods by the Chinese, but simply spirits. This opinion, introduced by the Jesuits, and taken up by so many foreign sinologues in China, is no doubt the result of Christian theistic prejudices and prepossessions. That a great civilized nation with an extensive literature reaching back two thousand five hundred years, having had from the first an elaborate system of polytheistic idolatry, should all the while call their gods spirits, because their language affords no generic word for god, presents so amazing and unparalleled an anomaly as to render such a theory quite incredible, even if there were no evidence to the contrary. Of such evidence, however, there is abundance.*

With reference to this seemingly anomalous application of the term *shên* to the human spirit, I take my stand on the proof already adduced (and much more will be brought to view when we come to consider the derivative and figurative uses of the word) that in other cases it means divinity, and confidently affirm that its application to the human soul does not and cannot invalidate these proofs. Whatever may be the meaning of *shên* when applied to the soul, its meaning in other cases is *god*, not derivatively nor approximately, but primarily and absolutely. Of this seeming anomaly only two solutions seem possible. One solution is that the word *shên* has two distinct and independent senses, so that it is in fact two words. The entire absence of all proof in native dictionaries and definitions that this word has two independent senses, has already been adverted to; neither has it been seriously maintained by any who have undertaken to discuss the question, so that this solution may be dismissed. The other solution is that the one sense is derived from the other, either god from spirit or spirit from god. That the sense of god is not derived from that of

*A few sought to relieve the situation by claiming for 上帝 the force of a generic. Dr. Medhurst, and later Dr. Chalmers made strenuous efforts to this end. A much stronger case could easily be made out for Jupiter. Dr. Legge and the great majority of missionaries who use 上帝 for God, only claim it as the specific title of the true God. The Chinese who use the term, *all*, I think, take Dr. Legge's view.

spirit is proved by the fact already fully established, that divinity is the primary sense. In the nature of things a primary sense cannot be derived. Moreover, the sense of spirit is not, as we shall subsequently see, absolute, but only approximate, being largely modified by the primary sense of divinity. If any still think that spirit is the primary and absolute sense of the term, they should furnish proof of the fact from the ancient history and literature of China and then explain and illustrate the process by which the sense of divinity has been derived from it. On the other hand, I maintain that the sense of spirit, so far as it truly characterizes the word, is derived from that of god, and propose to explain and illustrate from the history and use of the word the process of derivation.

The clue to the process by which the word for *god* came to mean the *soul*, is found in the pantheism which has from the most ancient times characterized Chinese philosophy and religion. The Book of Changes, supposed to be the oldest Chinese classic, is in its prime conception essentially pantheistic. This pantheism was developed and emphasized in the explanations and additions made by Confucius. Lao Tsï, also, the great religious sage of China, makes the same pantheistic idea the basis of his religious mysticism. Subsequent writers, influenced by Buddhistic pantheism, have developed these primary ideas into an elaborate system of pantheistic philosophy. The result is, that Chinese literature and language is saturated with pantheistic forms of thought and expression. Now it is one of the prime doctrines of pantheism that the soul of man is divine. This has been the theory of all classes of pantheists in all nations and in all ages. The fundamental conception of pantheism is that of an all-pervading spiritual essence or soul which, while it is itself a unit, comprises and contains within itself all spiritual being. The logical inference from such a theory is that the soul is divine—a part of god. This inference pantheists have boldy made, as is abundantly attested by those who have studied their writings, as well as by the writings themselves.

Cudworth says, "The Stoics held that the mind of man is a spark of that divine fire which is the soul of the world." And again, "It is a common practice with the Stoics and Platonists to call men gods, as supposing that the sovereign portion of man, namely the mind and rational soul, emanates from god himself, and is a part of god, and that if a man bestows due care on this part, and abstracts it from the body, he then becomes wholly like unto god, nay altogether a god." *Intellectual System.*

Buchanan represents pantheism as teaching that, "the soul is a mode of the divine thought." *Modern Atheism.*

Hodge says "Pantheism is self-deification" *Theology.*

These testimonies are fully sustained by pantheistic writings.

"I am struggling to liberate the divinity within me." *Plotinus.*

"Souls are bound to and connected with god, as being parts or decerptions from himself." *Henophanes.*

"The god that reigns within us forbids us to depart hence without his command." *Cicero-Tusculan Disputations.*

"Hinc sequitur mentem humanam partem esse infiniti intellectus dei." *Spinoza.*

"Mankind is the godman." *Strauss.*

"The currents of universal being circulate through me. I am part or parcel of God." *Emerson—Nature.*

"Of the universal mind each individual man is one more incarnation." *Emerson—History.*

"Bid the invaders (men, books, and institutions) take the shoes from off their feet, for God is here within." *Emerson—Self-reliance.*

"We cannot describe the natural history of the soul, but we know that it is divine." *Emerson—Method of Nature.*

"Divine I am, inside and out, and make holy whatever I touch, or am touched from." *Walt Whitman.*

"There is no god any more divine than yourself." *Walt Whitman.*

Chinese pantheism long ago made the same deduction and called the human soul divine.

1. 人者其天地之德, 陰陽之交, 鬼神之會, 五行之秀氣. 禮記.

*Man is the virtus of heaven and earth, the union of the dual ethers, the conjunction of the demon and the divine, the refined essence of the five elements.**

We have here in Chinese form the pantheistic affirmation of the divinity of the human soul.

2. 宰我曰, 吾聞鬼神之名不知其所謂. 子曰, 氣也者神之盛也, 魄也者鬼之盛也. 合鬼與神教之至也. ... 註曰, 人之能運動者, 氣也, 形體魄也. 死則氣之靈爲神, 魄之靈爲鬼. 禮記.

Tsai Wo'á said, "I have heard the term kwei-shén, but I do not know what is meant by it." The master replied, "The breath is the fulness of the divine, the sentient soul is the fulness of the demon. Ability to combine the demon (kwei) and the divine is the acme of learning." The commentator says, "That which gives men ability to

*I have here rendered *Kwei* (鬼) by demon, but the word demon in order to truly represent the word *Kwei*, as here used, must be stripped of the depravity and malevolence which Christianity has given it, and be taken in its primitive Greek sense. Our word spirit expresses the idea approximately, just as the Greek word δαιμονιος is often, for want of a better word, rendered spirit.

move about is the breath. The physical form is the sentient part. When death comes the spiritual part of the breath becomes divine and the spiritual part of the sentient soul becomes demon."

The questioner evidently had celestial beings in his mind, but the answer assumes and teaches the essential oneness of men and gods, that is, of the *kwei shên* on high and the *kwei shên* on the earth.

3. 純素之道, 惟神是守, 守而無失, 與神爲一. 莊子.

Perfectly unsullied truth is only to be attained by conserving the divinity (shên) within. He who conserves this without loss, becomes one with God.

The Taoist philosopher here distinctly assumes the primary and essential oneness of the *shên* in man and God. It is worthy of remark also that so far as pantheistic theories will allow a personal god, shên is here distinctly used by way of eminence.

4. 以名物言, 則鬼神爲造物之精英, 以事物言, 則鬼神卽人心之精爽. 本義匯參.

With reference to great things the kwei shên is the potency by which all things were made: with reference to minor affairs the kwei shên is the vital energy of the human mind.

5. 天職旣立, 天功旣成, 形具而神生. 荀子.

When heaven has fulfilled its office and accomplished its work, the form is complete and the divine soul is produced.

The celestial origin of the human spirit is here clearly intimated. It is something from without—a spark of divinity that enters the body at the moment of birth. Apuleius in discussing the *daimon* of Socrates says, "This god, who is the mind of every one, though immortal, is nevertheless after a certain manner generated with man."

6. 心是神明之舍, 爲一身之主宰. 性理大全.

The heart is the dwelling of the divine intelligence and the ruler of the body.

The use of the term *shên-ming* shows the intention to make the soul divine. Many more passages to the same purpose will be found in the farther treatment of the subject, but these are sufficient to show that the calling of the soul divine has gone much farther in China that it has ever done in the West. In China it has passed from the philosophers and poets to the people, so that in a variety of stereotyped forms it has come to be a part of their common language and thought, while in the West it has been chiefly used in the language of poetical hyperbole, never having entered, to any great extent, into the language of common life. Dr. Hodge in his Theology says that pantheism was with the

Greeks a matter of speculation, and we know that in modern Europe it has been confined largely to the opinions and writings of philosophical speculators. Their theories have not been generally and permanently accepted, and so have failed to make any considerable impression on common language and thought. In China the pantheists were the sages and religious teachers whom the people delighted to honor, whose writings and teachings have been studied and made the standard of orthodoxy and the models of style and expression, moulding the Chinese language as the Bible has moulded the English language. The pantheistic theories of the classics were fully developed and amplified by subsequent commentators, especially by the learned philosophers of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1000.) As a logical deduction from pantheism the identity of the soul with divinity came to be especially prominent and reiterated in manifold forms. The philosophers of the Sung dynasty having become the standard interpreters of the classics their theories have permeated the whole language, both written and spoken. Successive generations of Taoist mystics have also developed the same idea from the same premises and have helped by their writings in connection with the preaching of the priests, to fix it in the language and make it current among the people. When Buddhism entered China it brought with it the same idea, and so fell in with the current forms of thought and speech. No considerable element of opposition has ever appeared to counteract or oppose this pantheistic tendency, while no doubt the fact that until within a comparatively short period books were more multiplied in China and had a greater influence over the people than in the West, has tended to give general currency to pantheistic language and forms of expression.

These things show us how it is that what in the West is confined to pantheistic theorizers and to the exalted language of poetry and passion, is in China an accepted doctrine and a common usage. It is, however, notwithstanding its far greater development, essentially the same in its origin and principle. It is giving to man, for a purpose, the term which belongs to God. Pantheism is essentially and intensely egotistic. Professing to be guided by logic it is oftentimes actuated more by pride than by logic. It loves to compliment itself by extolling the dignity of human nature. In this it allies itself with the poetical sentiment and at the same time ministers to it. Hence it has ever been that deifying the human soul has been partly the language of formal philosophical speculations and partly the language of poetical hyperbole. The use of *shên* for the soul exhibits both these phases

It need scarcely be remarked that *shên* does not mean the soul simply as such, corresponding to our word *soul*. This, it is universally conceded, belongs to *hun* (魂), or to the compound *ling hun* (靈魂). The question is, does it mean the soul viewed simply as a *spirit*—as an invisible and intelligent existence, or does it mean the soul viewed as divine—as a part of, and one with, the soul of nature—the god of Chinese pantheism? The latter view I regard as the true one.—true in that it answers to, and explains the actual usage of the word; true in that it fits into and harmonizes with the pantheism which constitutes the essence of Chinese metaphysics; and true in that it explains and reconciles what would otherwise be an unaccountable anomaly, viz., that in a cultivated language like the Chinese one word should have two such distinct meanings as *god* and *spirit*. In order to show what is the real force of the word *shên* as applied to the soul, and to prove that the foregoing analysis of the usage is correct, it will be necessary to cite a variety of examples from Chinese books. It will conduce to a clearer understanding of the subject to divide these examples into classes.

(1) THE SOUL IDENTIFIED WITH DEITY.

That shên as applied to the soul means rather divinity than simple spirituality, is shown by the fact that it is not so much made similar to the shên of heaven and earth, as made a part of it,—identical with it.

1. 人之神，則天地之神，人之自欺，所以欺天地，可不慎哉. 性理大全.

Man's shên is the same as the shên of heaven and earth, therefore when a man deceives himself, he deceives heaven and earth: should he not then be cautious?

This passage is a categorical statement of the principle affirmed. Its bearing on the question, as well as its unequivocal pantheism, is too manifest to need stating. The fact, here brought out, that the identity of the *shên* in man with the *shên* on high, involves a moral factor, is worthy of special attention. This fact signifies divinity, not spirit.

2. 性也者，天地鬼神之奧也，善不足以明之，況惡乎. 性理大全.

Human nature is the mystery of the kwei shên of heaven and earth; to call it good is not adequate, how much less to call it bad.

In this passage we see how the nature of man is expressly identified with the divinity that fills heaven and earth, and its superior excellence is inferred from this community of nature.

3. 諸禍之物,不約而衆至,所以然者,氣之所感故也. 夫神氣之所以動,可謂微矣,故曰天之與人,其有以相通,此之謂也. 子華子.

All manner of calamities come together without restraint, the cause of which is to be found in the influence of the (divine) *breath* (or spirit). *Now the reason why this divine breath* (*or spirit*) *exerts such an influence may be said to be inscrutable, hence the saying which affirms, "There is something in the relationship of heaven with man that puts the two into mutual communication."*

The essential oneness of the divine essence with the spiritual part in man is here plainly assumed and the interaction of the two affirmed. From this mysterious oneness of the human and divine the Chinese infer and believe that impressions are transmitted from the one to the other as if by a sort of nervous sensation or electrical impulse, which idea is here indicated by the term *mutual communication* (相通). Not only so, but this essential unity of the divine and the human constitutes the reason why, as well as the means by which, the good and evil done by men affects the divine being and so brings about rewards and punishments.

4. 眞人,壽敝天地,精神不散. 屈子.

The true man outlives the decay of heaven and earth; his divine essence (*ching shên*) *does not perish.*

The *true man* in Taoist phrase is one who has so nurtured and purified his diviner part that it becomes immortal and wholly divine, which is here expressed by saying that his divine essence does not perish.

5. 聖王之所不能也,所以能之也,所不知也,所以知之也,養其神,修其德而化矣,豈必勞形,愁弊耳目哉. 是故聖王之德,融乎若月之始出,極燭六合而無所窮屈,昭乎若日之光,變化萬物而無所不行. 神合乎太一,生無所屈,而意不可障,精通乎鬼神,深微玄妙,而莫見其形. 呂覽.

That in which the sage king distrusts his own ability is just what he can do, that in which he distrusts his own knowledge is just what he knows; he nourishes his divine soul (*shên*), *develops his virtues and transforms others. What need is there for him to weary his body and worry his eyes and ears? Hence the virtue of the sage king is clear as the moon when it first rises and completely illuminating the whole universe; there is nothing which can exhaust or restrain it* (*his virtue*). *Resplendent as the light of the sun, and transforming all things, there is nothing which it cannot effect. His divine soul* (*shên*) *being one with the great monad* (*the first and highest deity*), *his life is without constraint, his ideas are untrammeled, he is in intimate communion with the kwei shên, profound, mysterious, and invisible to the outward eyes.*

Notice how in this passage the divine soul of the sage is declared to be one with the *great unity*. This term, great or primary unity, is one of frequent occurrence in ancient books. It gives the highest conception of deity as the eternal unity. The 史記 says repeatedly 天神貴者太一, *The most exalted god in heaven is the primary unity*. He was worshipped by the ancient kings. The sage king here spoken of, by being one with him, was made divine in his life and character.

(II) SHÊN COMPLIMENTARY.

That shên as applied to the soul means divinity rather than simple spirituality, is shown by the fact that it is used to dignify and compliment.

Pantheism by exalting man to God gives man a handle by which to dignify and compliment himself. This idea lies at the bottom of the frequent use of the term *shên* and *shên-ming* when speaking of the soul. It may be seen and felt in a great many cases, but is not easily proved, because it lies underneath rather than on the surface. Only a few passages can be cited here, such as seem to bring this idea into the clearest relief.

1. 唯陛下留神考察. 前漢.

I only ask that your majesty will bestow your divine attention and examine the matter.

2. 唯陛下留神反覆熟省臣言. 通鑑綱目.

I only ask that your majesty will revolve the matter in your divine mind and thoroughly consider your servant's words.

3. 願陛下少留神明. 包極論委大臣疏.

I trust your majesty will bestow on it a little of your divine intelligence.

Language similar to the above is of constant recurrence in addresses and memorials to the throne. The adulatory force of *shên*, and *shên-ming* in such a connection is very evident.

4. 心之爲物, 至虛至靈, 神妙不測. 性理大全.

The mind is most ethereal and most spiritual, inscrutable and divinely admirable.

In exalting the mind, the writer finds the apex of his climax in the term *shên*.

5. 治於神者, 衆人不知其功, 爭於明者, 衆人知之. 墨子.

The divine man (shên) reigns in peace and no one recognizes his merit; the intelligent man reigns with strife and all men recognize his merit.

If spirit as such be the question, the one man has it just as much and as truly as the other. That which enables one man

to reign more easily and naturally than another, is not expressed by the word spirit.

6. 然心之體用,始終雖有眞妄邪正之分,其實莫非神明不測之妙. 朱子全書.

That is, although in the structure and function, in the origin and end, of the mind, there are distinctions of truth and falsity, of depravity and virtue, yet after all it is simply the divine intelligence, inexplicable and admirable.

7. 事之大小長短修遠,皆不出乎此心之神明也. 莊子.

The magnitude, distance, and duration of things do not go beyond the divine intelligence of the mind.

In both these passages the intention of the writers to aggrandize the human mind by allying it with divinity is very evident. The use of the compound term *shên-ming* points clearly in this direction. This term is not unfrequently applied to the soul, and in all such cases the intention to compliment is generally unmistakable. The primary sense of the term is beyond dispute. It means *the gods*, and its frequent application to the soul instead of *shên* alone, is clear evidence that the two terms mean substantially the same thing. The word *ming*, intelligent, was added by way of aggrandizement, and so the compound term passed into a set phrase. The word *ming* was added rather than any other because the highest order of intelligence is, in the Chinese mind, the prime characteristic of divinity, just as in Rome "the immortal gods" became a stereotyped phrase, and that because immortality was in the Roman mind the chief distinction of divinity.* This phrase, as applied to men, is clearly borrowed, and bears evidence of being somewhat strained. The undeniable fact that its proper and primary application is to the gods, shows very clearly that when applied to the soul it does not mean the spirit simply as such, but is used for the purpose of complimenting and exalting it.

A further proof that the application of the word *shên* to the human soul is essentially complimentary and intended to dignify is found in the fact that it is by far the most frequent in poetry, petitions, eulogies, etc. For example, Chalmers in his "Question of Terms Simplified," gives 192 examples of *shên* applied to the soul, of which fully 100 are from poems of various kinds, while a large part of the remainder are from Taoist mystics, who delight to compliment human nature by allying it with the divine.

*Some have explained this term as referring originally to two classes of deities: *shên* meaning the gods of heaven and *ming* the gods of earth. By constant use the compound term came to mean the gods collectively. The evidence in support of this theory is insufficient. It rests on the notes of one or two commentators, which are sufficiently accounted for by the proclivity which Chinese commentators have for verbal distinctions. The evidence of the explanation given above is abundant.

(III) SHÊN THE SUBSTRATUM OF THE SOUL.

The shên as applied to the soul affirms its divine origin rather than its spiritual nature, is shown by the fact that it is used to indicate the substratum or derivation of the soul.

1. 人之生也,謂其氣行,人之死也,謂其形返,氣行則神魂交,形返則精魄存,神魂行於天,精魄返於地. 性理大全.

When a man is alive his breath is said to move, when he dies his form is said to revert. While the breath moves, the divine spirit and the rational soul interact. When the form reverts, the animal essence (or the sentient soul) remains. The divine spirit (or rational soul) moves about in the heavens, the animal essence (or sentient soul) returns to the earth.

Here is a Chinese account of life and death, and of what constitutes a human being. The conception is clearly pantheistic. From it we see that the *shên* and the soul are not just the same thing in different aspects, but different things, which are supposed to be united during the life of the individual. The *shên* is not the soul itself, but something from above which unites with it and allies it to divinity.

2. 心者形之主也,而神者心之寶也.

The mind is the lord of the body and the shên is the jewel of the mind.

Heart (hsin) is generally used to express the mind, as being the intellectual factor in man, but the *shên* is something more; it is that in the mind, or joined to it, which gives it excellence and constitutes it what it is.

3. 心之靈曰神. 性理大全.

The intelligence (or spirit) of the mind is called shên.

The dictionary gives ling as a definition of *shên*, but the two are by no means synonymous. *Shên* is something farther back and higher than *ling*.

4. 人之一心,至切而近,至小而大,至微而著,所以包括神明管攝性情也. 性理大全.

A man's mind is the most important and at hand, the smallest and yet great, the most minute and yet manifest. For this reason it comprehends the shên-ming and controls the natural disposition.

The mind is the comprehensive term for the human spirit, which includes all other terms, amongst which is the term *shên-ming*, which, as we have already seen, is used specially to show the divine origin of the soul.

5. 心則以神用,而古今宇宙無不周遍. 莊子.

The mind depends on the shên for its operation, and there is nothing ancient or modern in the whole universe to which it does not extend.

(IV) THE SHÊN SOMETHING FROM WITHOUT.

That shên as applied to the soul affirms its divine origin rather than its spiritual nature, is evidenced by the fact that it is often spoken of as something from without introduced into the man.

1. 上有神德居，蓋先天一氣，自虛無中來者，神之德也。 參同契.

Above there dwells a divine virtus. Hence before birth there comes (to the child) a spirit (breath) from out the empyrean, which is this divine virtus.

2. 是故事其神者神去之，休其神者神居之。 淮南子.

Hence it is that when a man uses (excessively) his shên, it leaves him, but when he spares his shên, it remains with him.

3. 先生嘗言心不是這一塊，某竊謂滿體皆心也，此特其樞紐耳. 曰，不然，此非心也，乃心之神明升降之舍，人有病心者，乃其舍不寧也，凡五臟皆然，心豈無運用，須常在軀殼之內. 性理大全.

"*You (Sir) have often said that the mind (heart) is not simply one spot of the body, by which I suppose you mean to say that the mind pervades the whole body, and that the heart is simply its pivotal point.*" *To this the teacher replied,* "*Not so, this is not the heart, but the dwelling to and from which the shên-ming of the mind (heart) ascends and descends; when the heart is diseased, the dwelling of the shên-ming is not comfortable. The same is true of all the five viscera. Has the mind (heart) no ability to circulate; must it always be in its shell?*"

The terms 'ascending' and 'descending' which are here used quite affirm the divine origin and relationship of the human spirit. It is a divine guest in the man, and for this very reason the term *shên ming* is applied to it.

(V) SHÊN THE MYSTERY OF THE SOUL.

That shên as applied to the soul means divinity, is shown by the fact that it is not used to express simple spirituality, but rather that which is mysterious and wonderful in the soul.

1. 神是心之至妙處.

The shên is the most admirable part of the mind.

Nearly every definition or explanation of *shên*, as referring to the soul, exhibits in some form that which is wonderful, admirable, inexplicable, and so allied to the divine. This is not the range of words and ideas that the term spirit commonly calls forth.

2. 神者天地之心，常存而不可測者也，窮之則天地之心在我，如子之繼父志也. 西銘.

The shên (speaking of the sage) is the mind of heaven and earth continually present and inscrutable. When I fully comprehend it (i. e., my own shên) then I have such a relation to the mind of heaven and earth, as the son has to the father when carrying out his will.

Here we have the *shên* categorically defined as being the divine mind continually present and operating in a mysterious manner in the soul. He who fully comprehends and appreciates the promptings of this divine part, will be in perfect accord with the will of heaven. The comparison of the relation of the son to the father subsists, not only in the son doing the will of the father as a fulfilment of official duty, but especially in the inherited oneness of mind which naturally leads the son to walk in the steps of the father. The thought goes very much farther and rests on different premises from the Christian idea of the image of God in man.

3. 非放不下心,而操之爲神,正唯放下,而不爲心累之爲神也. 西遊眞詮.

It is not he who is only able to compose his mind by constraint, who is divine; it is rather he who is able to compose his mind and not be troubled by the effort, who is divine.

4. 用者技也,不用者神也,神則無所不用,況小技乎. 莊子註.

He who works by means, is skilful; he who works without means, is divine. He who is divine, commands all means; how much more does he command a trifling attainment of skill?

In both these extracts *shên* goes far beyond that which is simply intellectual. It reaches out towards that which is mysterious and divine. In the first it implies a spontaneous self-control, and in the second commands a range of efficiency that transcends the human and becomes divine.

(VI) SHÊN THE ENDOWMENT OF THE SAGE.

That shên when used of the soul means divinity rather than simple spirituality, is shown by the fact that it is attributed to some in a greater degree than to others, being rather the characteristic of the perfect man and of the sage than of common men.

1. 王倪曰,至人神矣. 高士傳.

Wang Ni says: "The highest type of man is divine."

So far as the nature of the mind is concerned, that of the common man is as truly spiritual as that of the ideal or perfect man. It is evident, however, that by his use of the word *shên* the writer intends to express something that is the peculiar endowment of the ideal man.

2. 神無所在，無所不在，至人與他心通者，以其本乎一也. 皇極經世.

Deity (shên) is nowhere, yet everywhere. The mind of the ideal man is in communication with him, seeing the two are primarily one.

The clear ascription of omnipresence to *shên* fixes its meaning as that of deity. The ideal man is then said to be united to *him* in virtue of their primary oneness. It would not be easy to make a stronger affirmation than this that the reason the ideal man is *shên*, is because of his participation in the divine nature. Once more we find *shên* used for God by way of eminence, and the use of the personal pronoun shows that the idea of personality was present to the writer's mind.

3. 去欲則宣，宣則靜矣，靜則精，精則獨立矣，獨則明，明則神矣，神者至貴也. 管子.

He who puts away desire, becomes free; he who is free, becomes tranquil; he who is tranquil, becomes refined; he who is refined becomes self-reliant; he who is self-reliant, becomes perspicacious; he who is perspicacious, becomes divine; he who is divine, is superlatively exalted.

This is the reasoning of a Taoist philosopher. Is there any rational point in beginning with the casting out of selfish desire and running up such a moral and intellectual climax as this in order to reach the idea of spirit? As steps up to the divine, however, such a ladder is full of force to the heathen mind. To the same purpose and much more is that notable climax constructed by Mencius, ending with 聖而不可知之之謂神. *When the sage passes beyond our comprehension he is what is called divine.* Spirit as such has no necessary relation to the sage, much less is it necessary to go beyond him in order to teach it. This very significant passage will come up for fuller consideration in a subsequent chapter.

4. 衆人之死爲鬼，而聖人爲神，非有二致也，志之所在者異也. 朱子鬼神.

When common men die, they are kwei; when the sage dies, he is a shên. Not that the two were originally unlike; the difference is in the bent of the will.

This sentiment of the standard classical commentator is one frequently met with. It naturally suggests the thought that if *shên* be rendered spirit, then what of *kwei*? By the same rule it should also be rendered spirit. If *shên* is nothing more than spirit, then certainly *kwei* is nothing less. The soul of a common man is as much a *spirit* as the soul of a sage, whether taken before death or after. In what respect then is the soul of the sage held

to be different from that of the common man? Not, as is here clearly stated, in any original difference of nature, but rather in that surpassing virtue and knowledge which is attained by a superior strength of will, and these are just the things which in the heathen mind distinguish a god from a demon. The relationship here and elsewhere represented as subsisting between *kuei* and *shên* really forecloses the argument that *shên* means nothing more than spirit. The real idea of spirit as such was not present to the author's mind at all when he wrote the above words.

5. 見人所不見謂之明, 知人所不知謂之神, 神明者先勝者也. 淮南子.

He who sees what others do not see, is called intelligent (ming). He who knows what others do not know, is called divine (shên). He who has divine intelligence, is the first to gain the victory.

6. 若是者, 皆神之所使, 而非明者之所能用也, 蓋明者, 但能爲之耳, 至於不平之平, 不徵之徵, 則神者之所使也. 明外也, 神內也, 明之不勝神久矣. 莊子註.

Things like these are all such as the divine man employs, but are not such as the intelligent man can use. For the intelligent man can only work by means, but as to making right what is wrong and attesting what is unattested, these are the things which the divine man effects. The intelligent is external, the divine is internal. The intelligent man has ever been unable to excel the divine man.

In both these extracts a distinction is made between him who is intelligent *(ming)* and him who is divine *(shên)*. The argument is fanciful no doubt, yet all the same it discloses to us the fact that in the opinion of the writers *shên* meant something more than spirit. The intelligent man already possessed all the essential attributes of spirit, why then go further in quest of spirit? *Shên* is spirit with divinity in it.

(VII) SHÊN A HIGH ORDER OF INTELLECTUAL FACULTY.

That shên as applied to the soul means divinity rather than simple spirituality, is shown by the fact that it is specially used to express and ennoble the higher order of intellectual faculties.

1. 讀書有神, 下得十分工夫, 卽得十分效應. 家寶.

When one studies with shên (the mind intent), then every moment spent yields an effective result.

In common speech, attention of mind is expressed by 用心 (use heart). Here, however, the use of the term *shên* points to a higher and intenser intellectual effort, such as exhibits the extraordinary powers of the mind.

2. 心之神, 發乎目, 則謂之神. 皇極經世.

The shên of the mind as expressed in the eye is called shên.

This sentiment is one often found in Chinese books. The *shên* in the mind is regarded as dormant, and unknown as such, until it wakes up and flashes in the eye. The eye, as the most expressive feature of the human face, seems to mirror forth the divinity within. The same sentiment is common to almost all nations. Suetonius says of Cæsar, "His eyes were bright and piercing, and he was willing it should be thought that there was something of a divine vigor in them." In the Upanishads of India the mind is frequently spoken of as "the divine eye."

3. 君子大抵以心劍爲用,心劍者天下之利器也.日泉云,磨劍劍利,磨心心劍神,劍利敵一人,心神敵萬人.
廣東新語.

The superior man for the most part uses the sword of the mind. The sword of the mind is the sharpest instrument in the world. Ji Ch'üen says, "Whet a sword, and it becomes sharp. Whet the mind and the sword of the mind becomes divine. With a sharp sword one can stand against a single individual, and with a divine mind, one can stand against the world."

The author is evidently aiming at something more than the ordinary intelligence which we in the West express by spirit,—namely at that higher and mightier intelligence which partakes of the divine.

4. 上學以神聽,中學以心聽,下學以耳聽. 文子.

The superior scholar hears with his shên, the ordinary scholar hears with his mind, the inferior scholar hears with his ears.

5. 知者心之神明,妙衆理而宰萬物者也. 四書合講.

That which knows is the shên-ming of the mind, which beautifies all truth and masters all things.

At first sight this passage may seem to teach precisely that *shên-ming* is used to express simple intelligence, but this is a superficial view of its force. The mind (心) itself fully includes and expresses the idea of simple intelligence, and if this were all that is meant, why go back of the mind? The real idea is that that faculty of the mind which knows and understands, is, in its higher development, divine. The term *shên-ming* is used for the express purpose of exalting it and allying it with the divine. The writer is speaking of that masterful knowledge which the sage makes the basis of his ethical system in the first section of the Great Learning.

6. 心者人之神明,所以具衆理而應萬事者也.
四書味根錄.

The heart is the divine part of man, that which comprehends all truth and responds to all emergencies.

Here again, *shên-ming* is used advisedly to express something more than that which is simply spiritual. It is used to compliment and exalt man.

(VIII) SHÊN MORALLY EXCELLENT.

That *shên* as applied to the soul means divinity, rather than simple spirituality, is shown by the fact that it has the quality of moral excellence.

The moral quality of spirit as such is indifferent, that is, it may be either good or bad; virtue or goodness is not a necessary quality of spirit.

1. 人心一念之正，而神在其中焉，因而鑒察之，呵護之，上至於父母，下至於子孫，必致其福而後已，故正心卽是神，神與神相親，又何疑乎. 信心應驗錄.

When a man's mind is upright, there is a divinity within it whose office it is to observe and protect and to cause a blessing to come upon parents and descend to posterity. Now the upright mind is just this divinity, and how can one doubt that it is the affinity of the divine with the divine?

The writer is a moralist who, in exhorting men to virtue, avails himself of the moral instincts of the human soul, which he bases upon the affinity existing between the *shên* in the soul of man and the *shên* who watches and protects the good. How very like this is that passage of Cicero, "As everything is pervaded by a divine intelligence and sense, it follows of necessity that the soul of man must be influenced by its kinship with the soul of the deity."

2. 無知之知則體寂，無物之物則用神，天命之性，粹然至善，神感神應. 玉龍谿全集.

In the case of knowledge that is only potential, the faculty is dormant. In the case of production without antecedent material, the operation is divine. The nature conferred by heaven is uncontaminated and perfectly virtuous. The divine (in heaven) inspires the divine (in man) responds.

As in the last passage, so here, the virtuous instincts of the soul are connected with *shên*, and are represented as specially moved by the interaction of the *shên* in man and the *shên* on high.

3. 衆生所以不得眞道者，爲有妄心，既有妄心，卽驚其神. 太上清靜經.

The reason why the mass of students do not attain the truth, is because of the vanity of their minds. When the mind becomes vain, the shên is obscured.

That is to say, the vanity of the mind frightens away the higher and purer aspirations which inhere in the nature of the *shên*.

4. 凡人心卽神,神卽心,無愧心,無愧神,若是欺心,便是欺神,故君子三畏四知,以愼其獨.勿謂闇室可欺,屋漏可愧,一動一靜,神明鑒察. 信心應驗錄.

The mind of every man is shên, and this shên constitutes the mind. He whose heart does not accuse him, is not accused of shên (god). If he cheats his own mind (conscience), he cheats shên (god). Therefore the superior man fears the three powers and keeps in mind the four witnesses in order to guard himself when alone. Say not that the secret chamber may be deceived, or that there is no need to be ashamed before the hole in the roof. Whether in motion or at rest, the gods (shên-ming) are observing.

5. 冥冥中有所謂神焉,其德甚盛,其威甚赫,其洞鑒無微不照,其感應無往不通,世人敬之畏之,誰敢比而同之歟,不知神亦不外於人也,人亦可以爲神也,盍觀夫人心乎,心之虛靈,卽神之聰明者是.神之正直,卽心之剛方者是,殆一而二,二而一者也. 信心應驗錄.

There is in the unseen that which is called deity. His virtue is very abounding, his majesty very dreadful. There is nothing so small that his penetrating gaze does not reach it. There is no place to which his inspiration does not extend. Men honor him and fear him. Who dares to compare with him? And yet you should know that the deity is not exterior to man. Men may also be regarded as divine. Why not look at the mind of man? The spirit of his mind is just the divine intelligence. The righteousness of god is just the firm rectitude of the mind. They (the human and the divine) are one yet two, two yet one.

The second of these extracts is an exposition of the first part of the first. The linking of the moral excellence of the *shên* in man with the moral character of God is very evident, as well as very significant. The second passage, in particular, contains a categorical affirmation that the spiritual part in man is divine; the two being really one. Such sentiments abound in Chinese tracts. Religious writers constantly avail themselves of the word *shên* to establish and enforce moral truth. It will perhaps be said that it is nothing more than what Christians speak of as the image of God in man which is thus invoked as the ground of moral obligation. This, however, rather serves to make the argument the stronger when we consider that that which is thus regarded as imaged forth in the human soul is not 天主 nor 上帝, but precisely 神, the very word which in virtue of its meaning suggests both the ground and the rule of moral obligation.

I have translated in the singular, which I think is quite justified by the conception of the writer. He did not have in mind this or that god, nor yet the many gods, but that one all-comprehensive God, who fills "the unseen," and with whose being the soul of man

is one. If the language had offered him a choice of a singular and a plural form, he would assuredly have used the singular, and so said God, by way of eminence.

To sum up the case I would ask the student of this question to weigh carefully the several classes of illustrations given above, and thus say whether their aggregate force does not justify the conclusion that *shên*, applied to the soul, does not mean the spirit simply as such, but that it means the soul regarded as divine. We have seen how, when applied to man, it implies and asserts his identity with the divine spirit supposed to animate heaven and earth; how it goes beyond and behind the soul as such and claims to be enshrined in the very adytum of life and to be the primal source of being; how it is not content with the ordinary powers and properties of spirit, but claims to be the inscrutable of all that is mysterious and wonderful in man; how it leaves common men with a minimum and claims to be the special endowment of the genius and the sage; how it has in it an excellence and a dignity which make its simple use the highest compliment; how it goes beyond anything contained in the word spirit, and affords a foundation on which to build the solid structure of moral obligation. Now, are these things the characteristic attributes of spirit? Does spirit ordinarily include and express such ideas as these? The analogy of every other language answers, No. Spirit, as such, is not by its nature divine. It is not necessarily identical with the divine spirit. Spirit is life, but it does not go beyond life, and constitute its own cause and origin. Spirit is intelligence, but it predicates nothing special in regard to the degree of intelligence. In order to eulogize a man's intellectual powers as marvellous, what language does not call him divine rather than spiritual? * Spirit is the common endowment of men, but not of one man more than another. When one man far surpasses his fellows in wisdom and virtue, who characterizes him as a spiritual man, and who does not characterize him as a divine man? † Spirit removes from the physical and connects with the unseen, but it adds no special dignity or honor. What obsequious sycophant compliments his king as a spirit and not as a god? In short, the usage of the word *shên*, when applied to the soul, shows clearly that it means much more than simply spirit—shows in fact that it means divinity in humanity, and the pantheistic philosophy of the Chinese explains how such a usage came to pass.

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*A man's soul is not any more a spirit because of his intellectual greatness than his body is more really physical because he is a giant in size. The small weak body is just as truly a body as the large and strong one.

†Those who would properly weigh the present question, must put aside the peculiar meaning which the work of the Holy Spirit on the soul has given to the term spiritual. In Christian phrase a spiritual man is a man whose thoughts and affections are strongly directed towards God, an idea unknown to the heathen and quite aside from present argument.

(VIII) SPECIAL PHRASES.

Those who have discussed the word *shên* from the opposite standpoint, holding that it means spirit and not divinity, have of course laid stress on its application to the soul, and in doing so have insisted on the fact that numerous phrases are current in Chinese, in which *shên* is so used, and that these phrases, being staple forms of expression, cannot be set aside or ignored, and therefore it is quite inconsistent to use the word in another sense. A number of these phrases have already occurred incidentally in the passages previously cited, but have received no special attention. A full discussion of the subject requires that they receive due attention. Space will only allow a brief consideration of those most frequently used. It will conduce to clearness to divide them into several classes.

(*a*) *Phrases based on the mystical idea that the soul being essentially divine, may by suitable means be so nurtured and freed from the eruptions of the flesh that it shall become at last truly divine and immortal.*

The chief of these phrases are: 養神, *to nourish the shên;* 守神, *to keep or guard the shên;* 鍊神, *to refine the shên;* and 凝神, *to consolidate the shên.* The following examples will serve for illustration:—

1. 養其神修其德而化矣. 註, 無所思慮勞神, 是養神也. 呂氏春秋.

He nourishes his shên, builds up his virtue and is transformed. Explanation. To be free from anything causing anxiety or wearying the shên, is the way to nourish the shên.

2. 到此時必以養神惜力爲主, 能上床安睡, 閉目養神最好. 文昌帝君救世文.

At this time you should nourish your shên and husband your strength as the main thing. If you can, the very best thing is to lie down and sleep quietly, shutting your eyes and nourishing your shên.

3. 靜靜的養養神罷, 我們回來再瞧你. 紅樓夢.

Keep quiet and nourish your shên; we will see you again when we return.

4. 此篇言守氣守神, 多借事物技巧以明之. 莊子註.

This section treats of conserving the spirit (breath), and the shên, for the most part using the philosophy of natural things for illustration.

5. 此鍊神還虛之妙. 西遊眞詮.

This is the wonderful thing in refining the shên and reverting to vacuity.

6. 當斯時也, 跏趺大坐, 凝神內照, 調息綿綿, 默而守之. 悟眞篇.

At this time you should sit upright with crossed legs, your shên concentrated on the inner light, and with slow measured respiration, silently control your shên.

7. 此篇言養神之道,惟在虛靜恬淡,寂寞無爲,則精神四達並流,無所不極. 一有所雜,則純白不備,而神無與爲守矣. 莊子.

This section treats of the philosophy of nurturing the shên that it consists simply in vacuity of mind, tranquillity, quietness and passivity, by which means the ching shên is caused to flow out in every direction in an infinite expansion. But the moment anything extraneous intrudes, its purity is not perfect, and the shên is without the means of conserving itself. In developing the subject the author says further:—

精神四達並流. 無所不極,上際於天,下蟠於地,化育萬物,不可爲象,其名爲同帝純素之道,惟神是守,守而無失,與神爲一,一之精同,合於天倫.

The ching shên flows forth in every direction in an infinite expansion; above it is conterminous with heaven and below it encircles the earth; it transmutes all things and is beyond description. Its name is, "the way of attaining to the spotless purity of the Supreme Ruler." The sole way of attainment is in conserving the shên. He who conserves it without loss, becomes one with god (shên); becoming one, his essence is united with god and he comes into harmonious relationship with heaven.

The first example gives a somewhat imperfect definition of the term *yang shên* (養神), which expresses the primary idea in the theoretical process of attaining immortality. The second example is from a well known Taoist tract, and is based on the same idea. The third shows this same expression adopted into the stilted language of a Chinese novel, still retaining, however, something of its original savor. It is rarely if ever used in the language of common life. The fourth, fifth and sixth examples illustrate the use of the other terms employed to express different aspects of the process of prolonging life which, if perfected, is supposed to issue in an immortal and divine existence. This process centres on the word *shên*. Other terms, such as *ching* (essence) and *ch'i* (spirit or breath) come in incidentally, but *shên* is *the* all-important word—the word which by its affinity with deity, gives ground for the theory and suggests the promise of its realization. The seventh example is from Chwang Tsï, the great apostle of Taoist mysticism. In this passage he carries out his theory to its normal and logical conclusion. His description discloses at every step the idea that the *shên* in the soul is affiliated with the divine and only needs proper nurture to attain the realization of its immortal and divine inheritance in

union and communion with God. The passage is worthy of special note in that it distinctly uses *shên* by way of eminence—the personality being brought out by making it the equivalent of 帝 *(Ti)* the divine Ruler. The three terms 帝, 神 and 天 are used as equivalent.

(b). Phrases based on the theory that each human being has apportioned to him at his birth a certain measure of the divine essence, the injuring or dissipation of which shortens life, while the preserving of it prolongs life.

This class is somewhat similar to the last, and the line of demarkation is not always very distinct. The most important phrases in this class are: 傷神, *to wound the shên*; 勞神, *to weary the shên*; 費神, *to expend or waste the shên*; and 損神, *to damage the shên.*

1. 不能自勝其欲,而強制之,操之愈急,則反傷其神矣,不如任之以保神. 諸子品節.

He who is unable to control his desires, but forcibly represses them, in case the constraint is carried too far, wounds his shên. It is better to yield and so preserve the shên.

2. 古聖人不以感私傷神. 呂氏春秋.

The ancient sages were not so moved by selfishness as to injure the shên.

3. 堪笑狹小之夫,一事亦足以動其怒,一物亦足以勞其神. 信心應驗錄.

A man of such narrow capacity is ridiculous. Anything is enough to excite his anger, and anything is sufficient to weary his shên.

4. 這場心苦枉勞神. 封神演義.

This piece of worry is a vain wearying of shên.

5. 所謂事天者,不極聰明之力,不盡智識之任,苟極盡則費神多,費神多則盲聾悖狂之禍至,是以嗇之.嗇之者.愛其精神,嗇其智識也.故曰,治人事天莫如嗇. 韓子.

In what is called serving heaven, a man should not go to the utmost limit of his knowledge, nor attempt to fill up the measure of every conceivable duty. If the matter is pushed to this extreme, the expenditure of shên will be excessive, and excessive expenditure of shên will bring on the misfortune of blindness, deafness and mental aberration. On this account a man should spare himself. He who spares himself has a regard for his ching shên and husbands his knowledge. Hence it is said that in governing men and serving heaven, there is nothing more important than to husband one's resources.

6. 益我貨者損我神,生我名者殺我身,故不仕也. 經餘必讀.

That which increases my goods, injures my shên; that which gives me a reputation, destroys my body, therefore I will not hold office.

The use of these several expressions is almost entirely confined to books, being very rarely heard in colloquial. Not only so, but their use in books is most frequent in highly colored and figurative language, such as is found in poetry and novels. Dr. Chalmers gives sixteen examples of 傷神, of which fourteen are from poems: he gives ten examples of 勞神, of which seven are poetical and one from a memorial to the Emperor; while of 損神, he gives three examples, all poetical. The evident reason is that the use of this word is a compliment to human nature. It exalts and dignifies, and so gives a higher literary effect. In colloquial 心 is used instead of 神, but with a different meaning in each case, thus 傷心 means to be grieved in mind, while 傷神 means to wound or injure the intellectual or primary constituents of the mind; 勞心 is to work and worry, while 勞神 is to weary or exhaust the mind; 費心 is to take pains or trouble, while 費神 is to expend or waste mental force.

The following is a notable example, including most of the phrases of this class:—

7. 一切諸事,都以養神爲要,然而養神,更是舉手最上工夫,戒大醉.大醉耗神,戒貪色,貪色滅神,戒厚味,厚味昏神,戒多食,多食悶神,戒多事,多事亂神,戒多言,多言損神,戒多憂.多憂鬱神,戒多思.多思撓神,戒久睡,久睡倦神,戒久讀,久讀苦神. 家寶.

In everything let the nourishing of your shên be regarded as the most important, for in truth the nourishing of the shên should be the first and highest object of effort. Abstain from drunkenness, for drunkenness wastes the shên; abstain from licentiousness, for licentiousness destroys the shên; abstain from rich food, for rich food muddles the shên; abstain from overeating, for overeating oppresses the shên; abstain from too much business, for too much business confuses the shên; abstain from too much talking, for too much talking injures the shên; abstain from too much grief, for too much grief depresses the shên; abstain from too much thinking, for too much thinking perturbs the shên; abstain from oversleeping, for oversleeping wearies the shên; abstain from prolonged study, for prolonged study is an abuse of the shên.

(c). *Phrases formed by joining together cognate or correlative words.*

The Chinese analysis of the spiritual part of man is a confused and complex mixture which has grown up through the centuries It deals with the terms 神,氣,精,魂,魄,心,靈 and 鬼. On these words the changes are constantly rung. They are also combined in various forms for mutual explanation and rhetorical effect. Some of them it is impossible to translate adequately, seeing we have no

corresponding words in the English language. 神 represents the divine, and 氣 the ethereal nature of the soul, 精 is the soul viewed as a refined and sublimated essence, being mostly used as an adjective, 魂 is the soul as a living personality, 魄 is the animal life which inheres in and in a sense constitutes the body, 心 is the soul from the rational standpoint, and 靈 from the intellectual and spiritual side, while 鬼 is the shade or ghost. The most common combinations containing *shêu* are: 神氣, 精神, 心神, 神魂, and 神靈.

(1). 神氣 *Shên Ch'i.*

This phrase is used in three senses. First, it signifies the divine breath or spirit which is supposed to fill the universe and all things in it, which sense has already been considered. Second, it is used metaphorically of the force or style of a sentence, a sense to be considered in another connection. Third, it is used of the human soul, as a decerpt from the universal divine soul. Three or four examples will serve for illustration.

1. 卽如人身初生, 神氣渾全. 悟眞篇.

As to the human body, when it is first born the divine breath is complete.

2. 至人者神氣不變. 文選.

In the perfect man, the divine breath does not change.

3. 開口神氣散, 舌動是非生. 率性闡微.

With the opening of the mouth the mind is dissipated, in the moving of the tongue trouble is born.

4. 臣意論之, 以爲神氣爭, 而邪氣入, 非年少所能復也. 史記.

The opinion of the prince was that when the divine breath is at strife (with itself) then evil affections enter, which a young man is unable to recover from.

The two words are often separated for rhetorical effect as 神清氣爽. *The mind clear and vigorous,* or 神昏氣濁. *The mind confused and turbid.*

The first example affirms that the soul, as a divine emanation, is complete at birth, and the second that the true man conserves the divine breath in him, and so becomes eternally divine. The third sentence is a common proverb based on the idea that much speaking dissipates the mental powers. In the fourth the moral excellence of the *shên* is clearly assumed.

(2). 精神. *Ching shên.*

Ching means the refined or sublimated part of anything either material or spiritual, hence *ching shêu* means properly the finer and subtler part of that divine portion which is supposed to constitute the soul. It is, however, often used as a practical and somewhat complimentary synonym for the soul. It is by far the most frequently used phrase in which *shêu* is applied to the soul.

1. 精神者,所以原本人之所由生. 淮南子.

The ching shên is the prime causal element from which the man proceeds.

2. 精神者天之分,骨骸者地之分,屬天清而散,屬地濁而聚,精神離形各歸其眞. 經餘必讀.

The ching shên is the portion furnished by heaven, and the body the portion furnished by earth. The heavenly part is pure and disposed to scatter, the earthly part is gross and disposed to agglomerate. When the ching shên leaves the body each reverts to its original source.

3. 看他說吾之精神,卽祖考之精神,說得有道理. 朱子全書.

When he says, "My ching shên is the same as the ching shên of my ancestors," he speaks according to the truth

4. 其魂不疲,言精神不倦也. 莊子.

That his soul was not exhausted means that his ching shên was not wearied.

5. 佛以人死其精神常存. 通鑑綱目

Buddhism teaches that when a man dies his ching shên continues to exist for ever.

The two words are sometimes separated for rhetorical effect, as 聚精會神, *to concentrate the ching shên;* or 勞神瘁精, *to weary out the ching shên, etc.*

In the first two examples the *ching shên* is defined as the source of life which has its origin from heaven and ultimately reverts to its original place. In the third the *ching shên* of each man is affirmed to be of the same substance as the *ching shên* of his ancestors, a sentiment of constant recurrence, which is redolent of Pantheistic ideas. In the fourth and fifth *ching shên* is used directly as a synonym for the soul. In common speech *ching shên* is chiefly used of the soul as roused to the intense use of its powers when it exhibits its higher and diviner faculties. Thus we have 抖擻精神, to stir up the powers of attention; 打點精神, *to hold the mind alert;* 精神恍惚, *the thoughts confused;* 精神外露, an outward appearance of brightness; 賣弄精神, *to put on an excited appearance.* From this point of view *ching shên* is frequently translated "animal spirits," but incorrectly, seeing the idea it involves is not physical but mental and spiritual.

(2). 心神 *Hsin shên or shên hsin.*

This compound term is simply a summing up of the human and divine sides of the mind into a collective term meaning the whole intelligence of the man. It is a book expression rarely used in speaking. Two or three examples will suffice for illustration.

1. 嚇得心神恍惚. 快心編.

Frightened till his wits (hsin shên) were all in a flurry.

2. 麗娟正在沉思,聽得蘭英說話,方收回心神. 快心編.

Li-chüen was in a brown study, and only when she heard Lan Ying's voice did she recover her wits (hsin shên).

3. 神心所受不言而喻. 文選.

What the mind (shên hsin) takes in, it comprehends without giving it expression in words.

The two words are also separated for rhetorical effect as in 心領神會. *The mind taking in and the spirit understanding,* or 心契神交 *united in heart and soul,* etc.

(4). 神魂 or 魂神, *Shên hun* or *hun shên.*

This term combines the sentient and the supersentient parts of the spiritual nature of man; the one being from earth and the other from heaven. It is only found in books.

1. 這一回神魂飄蕩,性亂如麻,一時間走投無路. 封神演義.

This time his soul quite left him, and his whole being was as confused as a bunch of hemp, so that for a time he knew not which way to turn.

2. 先帝外祖. 魂神廢棄. 莫奉祭祀. 前漢.

The souls of collateral ancestors of the early sovereigns were rejected, and no sacrifices offered to them.

3. 擔當宇宙, 越理虧心卽富貴, 但神魂不樂. 家寶.

You may carry the world on your shoulders, transgress the right and violate conscience and so get rich, but your (soul) will not be happy.

Shên hun is the correlate of *ling hun* (靈魂). It characterizes the soul from the divine side, as the latter does from the spiritual or intellectual side.

(5). 神靈 *Shên ling.*

This term is nearly always used of the gods, or of the deified souls of the dead, or as an adjective meaning divine power. It is only very occasionally used of the souls of the living.

1. 性無死生, 明其性則神靈因之不昧. 西遊眞全.

The nature is immortal. By classifying the nature the soul is delivered from darkness.

2. 朱文公嘗謂心之神靈妙衆理而宰萬事者也. 性理大全.

Chu Wên Kung was accustomed to say that the shên ling of the mind is that which appreciates the beauty of all truth and presides over all affairs.

3. 魂魄, 死者之神靈, 蓋魂神而魄靈, 魂氣而魄精. 楚辭.

The hun p'oā is the shên ling of the dead, for the hun is the divine part and the p'oā the spiritual part, the hun is the breath and the p'oā the essence.

As in the case of 神明 so with 神靈, being nearly always used of the gods, its occasional application to the soul proves that the soul is so called because it is regarded as divine. The last example is a specimen of the fanciful distinctions in which the Chinese indulge on this subject.

The term 鬼神 does not require treatment in this connection, for it is not applied to the souls of living men. Indeed it cannot be used of the soul of a particular man, either living or dead, for the reason that a man cannot be both living and dead at the same time. When a man's soul ceases to be *shên*, it becomes *kwei*, and *vice versâ*. The term is, however, sometimes used comprehensively for the souls of the dead, including both the canonized and the uncanonized.

(d). Phrases based on the idea that the state and character of the soul is mirrored forth in the face, form, or bearing of the man.

The chief phrases of this kind in use are: 神色, *expression of countenance*; 神彩, *countenance, looks*; 神情, *bearing, aspect*; 豐神, fairy like, graceful, angelic.

1. 有些神色不正. 小五義.

The expression of his face was not altogether right.

2. 恭臨形神色自若. 通鑑綱目.

When Kung drew near for execution, the expression of his countenance was just as usual.

3. 執宜入謁. 神彩嚴整, 進退有禮. 通鑑綱目.

When Chï I paid his respects to any one, his countenance was serene and dignified and his manners courteous.

4. 勣出見之, 覺其神彩不俗, 便邀入室. 博物志.

Chi went out to see him, and perceiving that there was an air of refinement about him, invited him in.

5. 就是畫師畫的美人, 也畫不到這樣的神情眉目. 品花寶鑑.

Even a master painter painting an ideal beauty could not paint eyebrows and eyes with such an expression in them.

6. 臨沒時神情靜定, 端然念佛而逝. 憨山師夢遊集.

When she approached her end, her aspect was serene, and she passed away composedly reciting her prayers.

7. 拉住了子玉, 見他這樣豐神秀澈, 如神仙中人. 品花寶鑑.

He held fast to Tsï Yü, seeing her so angelic and beautiful, like a divine fairy.

8. 屈原瘦細美髯, 豐神朗秀. 楚辭.

Ch'ü Yüen was slender, with a fine beard and an air of superhuman refinement.

It is a common sentiment among men that the qualities and affections of the inner man are expressed in the outward form, especially in the face and eyes. The fact that the Chinese regard

the soul as divine in origin and nature, gives all the greater force to phrases expressing this idea. They carry with them on this account a certain flavor of compliment and of dignity that the word spirit alone could not impart.

(*c*). *Phrases or collocations which regard man as consisting of body and soul.*

The word *shên* is connected in this way with 身, 體 and 形; the latter form being much the most frequent. One or two examples of each will serve for illustration.

1. 身與神爲耦. 經餘必讀.

The body and the soul are mates.

2. 卽無病常服. 可保其神健身強. 家寶.

Even when not sick, habitually taken, it will keep the shên sound and the body strong.

3. 專精銳志, 神迷體倦. 文選.

By concentrating the thought with intense determination the shên becomes confused and the body wearied.

4. 大道之中與道合眞. 則形神俱妙. 莊子.

He who studies the great truths and comes into harmony with them, will be without fault both in body and in soul (shên).

5. 夫神者我也, 形者我所舍也. 佛書.

My shên is myself, my body is my dwelling place.

6. 形恃神以立, 神須形以存. 文選.

The physical frame depends on the shên for its existence, and the shên requires the physical frame for its preservation.

Without doubt these combinations express in Chinese the classification which we express in English by the terms "body and soul," or material and spiritual part, but the point of view is quite different in the two cases. In the one case the human soul is viewed simply as a spirit, in the other case it is regarded as a part of or identical with the divine spirit. Any argument based on the usage exhibited in the above passages, which leaves this fact out of view, is misleading. It is worthy of special notice that this form of speech is almost entirely confined to metaphysicians and religious mystics. In ordinary speech the terms 身魂 *shên hun* are used for "body and soul."

The twenty odd phrases illustrated above include all those in *ordinary* use, in which *shên* is used of the human soul. A variety of other similar phrases are met with *occasionally*, such as 神力, 神思, 神志, 游神, 出神, 失神, 用神, 寧神, 驚神, etc., but they involve no fact or principle in relation to the meaning of *shên*, not fully covered by the examples already given.

What then is the bearing of these phrases on the question in hand? Do they prove that *shên* means spirit, and does their

existence in the language make it inconsistent and impossible to use the word *shên* in the sense of god?

1. These phrases do not prove that *shên* means spirit, because their existence in the language is fully accounted for by the unquestioned pantheism of Chinese philosophy which has coined and given currency to them. Their origin in this way is in perfect accord with the practice of pantheism everywhere, and is attested by the fact that they are modern as compared with the more ancient and primary sense of god, as well as by the fact that they are chiefly found in the works of metaphysical and religious writers; only a few of them being popularized. Furthermore these phrases, though used of the soul, do not characterize it simply as spirit. In most cases, as we have just seen, the idea of something superhuman and divine adheres to them and comes out with more or less distinctness. Even in the cases in which this idea does not appear on the surface they still contain a certain savor of it, which can be felt, though not capable of expression by any words in our language, or in any language which is not thus saturated with pantheism.

2. The existence of these words in the language does not by any means make it impossible or even difficult to use the word *shên* for god. This for several reasons: First, by far the larger portion of these phrases are found only in books and these chiefly in the writings of metaphysicians and religious mystics, which writings Christianity will presently discount, and by and by relegate to oblivion. All those elaborate explanations and nonsensical distinctions which deal with yin (陰), and yang (陽), and ch'i (氣), and ching (精), and kwei (鬼), and shên (神), and ch'ien (乾), and k'un (坤), etc., will pass away before the light of Christian and scientific truth, and with them will disappear the words and phrases to which they have given rise, so that the anomaly, so far as it exists, will to a large extent disappear in the natural course of events. Second, the few phrases which have passed into popular use will no doubt continue to be used as the concrete expression of certain ideas. Inconsistencies of this kind are common in all languages, especially in the case of words growing out of theories now obsolete, or based on supposed facts now disproved. Trench in his Treatise on the use of words sets this down as a marked feature in the pedigree of words. Thus we have in English a variety of words based on the supposed character of Greek and Roman deities, such as jovial, mercurial, saturnine, bacchanalian, vulcanize, hermeneutical, etc. The gods have perished, but the words live on. It is no uncommon thing for the people to adopt the words or phrases of the learned and use them without any reference to the theories which gave them birth, and so continue to use them long

after these theories have passed away. Take for example the word "enthusiasm." It contains by its composition and derivation the idea of an indwelling divinity; yet who now considers this or intends it when using the word? The phrase animal spirits is of the same kind. It is used without the slightest reference to the peculiar theory which gave rise to it. The same thing is true of many other words, such for example as lunatic, good humor, temper, disaster, ill-starred, droll, nightmare, bewitch, sardonic, etc. The fact that the terms 精神, 神色 and a few others will continue to exist in the Chinese language constitutes no reason why *shên* should not be used in its proper and primary sense.

As a matter of fact, the inconsistency is just as great on the supposition that *shên* means spirit as it is on the supposition that it means god, while it is very much harder to explain and incomparably more difficult of toleration in Christian terminology. To insist on calling all Chinese gods spirits instead of divinities, is simply a fallacy of translation which explains nothing and removes no inconsistency. In Chinese the inconsistency of using one word in two divergent senses still remains, and must continue to remain. I feel some confidence in affirming that every native preacher in China, no matter what terms he may habitually use for God and spirit does, when he preaches to the heathen, use the word *shên* generically for god, and by consequence for the true God. I can see no circumstance or principle in virtue of which the progress of Christianity and of Western thought in China can ever cause *shên* to cease to be used generically in the sense of deity. Moreover if such a thing should happen, it would be an unspeakable misfortune to the Chinese language, seeing it would leave it without any generic word for god.

CONCLUSION.

The Scriptures tell us that God created man in His own image and breathed into him the breath of life. In accordance with this primary truth all ages and nations have held the human nature to be akin to the divine, and in the language of poetry and passion have eulogized the soul as divine, yea, oftentimes as very god. All this and much more is expressed in Chinese by the various uses of the word *shên*. But if indeed this word means spirit and not deity, then it is fair to ask, how is this idea, which is common to all cultivated thought throughout the world, expressed in Chinese? What word serves in Chinese poetry and eulogy to ascribe divinity to man? Will 帝 or 上帝 or 天主 serve this purpose? What Chinese writers have used them? It is quite safe to say that such a usage does not exist in the language. Neither the meaning

of 帝 or 主, nor the usage of the language would tolerate such forms of expression. As well might Lucretius have said in eulogizing Epicurus, "He is a zeus, a very zeus," instead of saying, as he did say, "He is a god, a very god." Either *shên* is the word by which humanity is allied to deity and eulogized as divine, or such an idea is entirely unknown in China. Is such a thing credible? It is not too much to say that the usage of all nations, as well as the admitted pantheism of the Chinese, make such an idea preposterous.

Again it is in point to ask whether when China is christianized the Chinese Christians will speak of their dead friends as shên (神) and kwei (鬼), as the heathen Chinese now do. In view of the terminology of ancestral worship and the theories of Chinese pantheism, can Christianity afford to encourage Chinese Christians to continue using these terms as heretofore? As a matter of fact do their foreign teachers generally teach them to do so, or, what is still more pertinent to the question, do they themselves incline to do so? If indeed the word *shên* really means spirit, and its application to the soul as now current is entirely legitimate, then of course there is no occasion for any change. But if such a mode of speech shocks the Christian sense of the fitness of things, then there is strong reason to infer that the word means something more than spirit. Precisely the same principles apply to the word *kwei*, and the correlation of the words *shên* and *kwei* make it evident that what is true of the one is equally true of the other.

SHEN USED AS QUALIFIER.

The use of the word shên as a qualifier shows that its primary meaning is divinity not spirituality. In all cultivated languages the word god will be found used as a qualifier. This usage is not by any means confined to what is regarded as strictly and literally divine, but includes many things called divine by way of accommodation, as well as by figure of speech. In all ages men have shown a disposition to call that which is prëeminently excellent and admirable of its kind—divine.* Also among many polytheistic nations, where the idea of divinity is degraded, everything superhuman, mysterious, or extraordinary is called divine. In Chinese the term *shên* is

* According to Plato, one thing is a god simply, another on account of union, another through participation, another through contrast and another through similitude. For of superessential natures each is a god according to union, and of divine souls each is a god according to participation. But divine demons are gods according to contrast with the gods, and the souls of men are alloted this appellation through similitude."

THOMAS TAYLOR,
Translator of Apulieus' God of Socrates.

extensively used as a qualifier. An examination of this usage will clearly show, I think, that the qualifying idea is *divinity*, not *spirituality*.

The different things to which *shên* is thus applied are so numerous that it is impossible to give examples of all or even of half of them. I have noted one hundred and ninety nouns thus qualified, and many of them are in frequent use. For the purpose of illustration, it will be convenient to divide them into four classes, viz., persons, beasts, things, and ideas. It will be sufficient to take several of the most common words in each class and cite two or three illustrations of the use of each one.

I. PERSONS.

1. 神人. A divine man.

(1). 至人無己, 神人無功, 聖人無名. 莊子.

The perfect man does not seek his own, the divine man does not seek merit, the holy man does not seek fame.

(2). 如此勇膽過人, 先有成算, 若非神人, 怎得及此. 快心編.

If he were not a divine man how could he attain to such extraordinary courage and have such complete foresight?

(3). 堯舜有爲, 而神人則無爲, 堯舜之上, 又有此一等神人也. 莊子.

Yao and Shun exerted themselves, but the divine man does not (need to) exert himself; above Yao and Shun there is still a class of divine men.

(4). 原來是騰雲駕霧的神人也. 西遊眞詮.

He is in fact a divine man who can rise to the clouds and ride on the mist.

(5). 瑜見了大驚, 暗思孔明眞神人也, 早已知我心事. 三國志.

When Yü saw it, he was much frightened, and thought to himself, "K'ung Ming is indeed a divine man; he knew beforehand what was in my mind."

In the first example, the *shên* man is classed with the perfect man and the sage, and is so called because of prëeminent virtue. In the second, extraordinary qualities of mind justify the term *shên*. In the third the *shên* man is exalted above the sage, in that he works in a supernatural way.* In the fourth the *shên* man has supernatural powers.

2. 神女. A divine woman—a goddess.

(1). 王聞神女善變化, 能興雲雨, 築高唐之館, 作陽臺之宮, 祀之. 神仙鑑.

*Some Chinese commentators in their desire to put *the sage* on the pinnacle, have tried to explain away the *prëeminence* here given to the divine man. But certainly Mencius gives solid ground for the prëeminence of the latter in that well known climax which ends 聖而不可知之之謂神.

The king hearing that this divine woman could transform herself at will, and could cause clouds and rain, he built her a temple at Kao T'ang, called Yang T'ai, and sacrificed to her.

(2). 朝雲行雨，神女之美也. 文選.

In the morning it was cloudy and rained, which was through the favor of the goddess.

(3). 其夜王寢，果夢與神女遇，其狀甚麗. 文選.

Sure enough that night the king, while asleep, dreamed that he met the goddess, and her form was exceedingly beautiful.

(4). 女媧娘娘，乃上古神女，生有聖德. 封神演義.

Madame Nü Kuo is a divine woman (or goddess) of ancient times, who from birth was possessed of sagely virtue.

(5.) 心下暗想這女子定是上天神女，蓬島仙娥，不是輕易與人測識的. 快心編.

He said to himself: "This woman must be a heavenly goddess or one of the P'êng Tao genii; it is so hard for one to get a sight of her."

In the first and second examples we have supernatural powers in the third extraordinary beauty, and in the fourth sage-like virtue as the characteristic of the divine woman. In the fifth example, one who conducted herself as a goddess might be supposed to do, is spoken of as a divine woman. In many, perhaps most cases goddess is the best translation of 神女.

3. 神童. A divine youth.

(1). 時有神童，容貌絕俗，稱爲白帝之子，卽太白之精，降乎水際. 拾遺記.

At that time a divine youth of extraordinary appearance descended into the water. He was called the son of the white emperor, being an emanation from the evening star.

(2). 神異經曰，西海有神童，乘白馬，出則天下大水. 文選.

The classic of prodigies says: In the western ocean there is a divine youth who rides a white horse, and when he appears, there are everywhere great floods.

(3). 子春與論五行之理，鬼神之情，枝葉橫生，衆莫能難，於是號爲神童. 神仙鑑.

Tsï ch'un discussed with him the doctrine of the five elements and the nature of the gods. (His reasoning) spread like the branches and leaves of a tree, so that none were able to puzzle him, on which account he was called divine.

In the first two examples superhuman acts are spoken of and in the third marvellous intellectual powers are expressly declared to be the ground of the term *shên* youth.

4. 神將. A divine captain, a hero.

(1). 天生神將. 通鑑綱目.

By nature a divine captain.

(2). 金童, 玉女, 神將, 天兵. 信心錄.

Golden youths, pearly virgins, divine captains, celestial soldiers.

(3). 概天神將, 俱莫能降伏. 西遊眞詮.

The divine captains of heaven were none of them able to subdue him. Military prowess is here the occasion of using the term *shên*. On no account perhaps has the world been so ready to call men divine as for skill, strength and courage in battle. There is not one of Homer's heroes that he does not call divine.

5. 神聖. A divine sage.

(1). 乃是佛與仙與神聖三者, 躲過輪迴, 不生不滅. 西遊眞詮.

There are three who escape the wheel of transmigration, who are neither born nor annihilated—Buddhas, Genii, and Divine Sages.

(2). 方開闢之初, 又必有聰明神聖者, 繼天爲主. 性理大全.

Immediately on the peopling of the earth there must have been wise and divine sages to succeed heaven in ruling.

(3). 試思大易, 爲古神聖道法之祖. 西遊眞詮.

You should consider that the great Book of Changes is the source of the doctrines of the divine sages of ancient times.

(4). 五帝神聖, 其臣莫能及. 性理大全.

The five emperors were divine sages; none of their officers were able to equal them.

(5). 非神聖, 人莫能盡言. 史記.

None except the divine sage is able to give expression to it.

(6). 原來是騰雲駕霧的神聖下界, 怪道火不能傷. 西遊眞詮.

He is in fact a cloud-ascending, mist-riding, divine sage come down to earth. No wonder the fire could not hurt him.

With the Chinese the sage is the highest type of man, and the desire to exalt and compliment him finds no term so suitable as *shên*. In the last example only do we find the strictly superhuman element.

6. 神兵. A divine soldier, the hosts of heaven.

(1). 伏乞調遣神兵, 收降此妖, 整理陰陽, 永安地府. 西遊眞詮.

They fell down and besought him to despatch a force of gods (divine soldiers) to subdue this evil spirit, adjust the dual powers and give perpetual peace to the place.

(2). 想老孫大鬧天宮時, 那些神兵, 都禁不得我. 西遊眞詮.

You remember that when old Sun raised such a great clamor in heaven, all those divine soldiers were quite unable to restrain me.

(3). 漢兵神眞可畏也. 通鑑綱目.

The soldiers of Han are godlike; truly they are to be feared.

(4). 此蓋希世之神兵, 子豈能從我而服之乎. 文選.

These are indeed divine soldiers rarely found; are you able to follow me and conquer them?

(5). 於是專委慶之處分, 旬日之間, 內外整辦, 人以爲神兵. 通鑑綱目.

Hence he simply sent Chiang Chī to act according to circumstances. In ten days all was completed, both within and without, so that he was regarded by all as a divine soldier.

In the first two examples the hosts of heaven are called divine soldiers, because they are in the service of the gods. In the last three examples extraordinary courage and prowess gives significance to the word.

The most important of the remaining words of this class are the following:—

神王 A divine King.		神仙 A divine Genius.†	
神君 „ „	Prince.*	神母 „ „	Mother.
神師 „ „	Teacher.	神巫 „ „	Sorceress.
神醫 „ „	Physician.	神勇 „ „	Hero.
神僧 „ „	Priest.		

II. BEASTS.

1. 神獸. A divine beast.

(1). 飛遽天上神獸也. 文選.

Suddenly it flew up to heaven—a divine beast.

(2). 飛虞天上神獸鹿頭龍身. 山海經.

The flying Yü is a divine beast from heaven, having the head of a deer and the body of a dragon.

(3). 崑崙有神獸, 獅子辟邪, 天鹿焦羊之屬. 山海經.

At Kwun Lun there are divine beasts, such as lions, P'i Hsie, celestial deer, and crisp wooled sheep.

The supernatural character of these beasts is sufficiently evident. The old mythological writings of the Chinese are full of accounts of such marvelous animals.

2. 神龍. A divine dragon.

(1). 神龍或潛或飛, 能大能小, 其變化不測. 通鑑綱目.

The divine dragon either dives or flies. He can either enlarge or contract himself; his transformations are inscrutable.

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* Applied in the Han dynasty to a sorceress.

† One of the classes of Genii.

(2). 大風吹沙如露, 中多神龍魚鼈, 皆能飛翔. 拾遺記.

A great wind blew up the dust like a fog, and in the midst were many divine dragons, fish and tortoises, all of which could fly.

(3). 庖羲將興, 神龍負圖而至. 前漢.

When P'ao Hsi was about to arise, the divine dragon came bearing a map on its back.

The dragon figures conspicuously in Chinese mythology, and to it many marvelous things are attributed. It is prëeminently a supernatural animal, and hence called divine.

3. 神馬. A divine horse.

(1). 吉光神馬, 壽千百歲, 取其皮爲裘, 能入水不濡, 跨火不焦. 神仙鑑.

The Chi Kwang is a divine horse which lives thousands of years. With a coat made of its skin you can go into the water and not be wet, walk through fire and not be burned.

(2). 漢武帝元狩三年, 得神馬於渥注水中. 易學啟蒙.

In the time of Han Wu-ti, the third year of Yuen Shou, a divine horse was caught in the waters of the Woŏ Chu.

(3). 魏末, 有神馬夜過官牧, 迹大如斗, 入河水中. 續博物志.

At the end of the Wei dynasty divine horses passed by the imperial stables at night; the tracks of their feet were as large as a bushel measure. They disappeared in the river.

The horse is used in war, and is a fleet-footed and noble animal. On these accounts, horses figure in mythological stories, and are called divine. A *shên* horse is, however, something very different from what is meant by a "spirited" horse. This latter is called 烈馬, but the *shên* horse has something supernatural about him.

4. 神龜. A divine tortoise.

(1). 第五層有神龜, 長一尺九寸, 有四翼, 萬歲則升木而居, 亦能言. 白虎通.

On the fifth storey there was a divine tortoise, one foot nine inches long, and having four wings. After a thousand years it ascends and lives on the trees and can talk.

(2). 謂神龜負文, 而列於背. 文選.

It is said that a divine tortoise carried the diagrams arranged on its back.

In ancient times the tortoise was used in divination, and was supposed to have a marvelous power of foretelling the future. Nu Hsi is said to have derived the eight diagrams of the Book of Changes from the marks on its back.

The most important of the remaining words of this class are the following:—

神牛. *A divine cow.*
神鳥. ,, ,, *bird.*
神雀. ,, ,, ,,
神禽. ,, ,, ,,
神鷹. ,, ,, *eagle.*
神魚. *A divine fish.*
神虎. ,, ,, *tiger.*
神駿. ,, ,, *steed.*
神蛇. ,, ,, *serpent.*

III. THINGS

1. 神物. A divine thing.

(1). 是故天生神物, 聖人則之. 易經.

Hence heaven generated these divine things (straws and tortoises) and the sages adopted them as their rule.

(2). 國有大事, 必謀於神, 而龜蓍乃物之神者, 故假之以問其吉凶. 書經體註.

When the government has any important business the gods must be consulted. Now the tortoise and straws are divine things, and are therefore made use of to inquire what will be lucky or unlucky.

(3). 劉彥回以放龜脫水厄. 孫眞人以救蛇獲仙方. 古來放龜蛇者往往有奇報, 其爲神物可知已. 信心錄.

Liu Yen-hwei released tortoises and was saved from a watery grave. Sun Chên-jên saved a serpent and attained immortality. From ancient times those who have saved tortoises and snakes, have frequently gotten wonderful rewards, from which it may be known that they are divine things.

(4). 此劍連夜發光, 意者神物. 東周列國全志.

This sword for several nights together sent forth light; hence it was regarded as a divine thing.

(5). 后乃負帝以濟河. 河流迅急, 惟覺脚下如有乘踐, 則神物之助焉. 拾遺記.

The queen carried the (young) emperor on her back across the river. The current of the river was very swift, but she felt something underneath bearing her up, which was something divine helping her.

(6). 崑崙高萬一千里, 神物之所生, 聖人仙人之所集也. 博物志.

The K'un Lun mountains are eleven thousand li high, the place where divine things are produced, and where sages and genii congregate.

The chief articles used in divination are straws and tortoises, which on account of their supposed virtue are called "divine things." This is the most frequent use of the phrase. It is used, however, of other things of a supernatural character, as we see in the fourth and fifth examples.

2. 神光. Divine light or glory.

(1). 武帝祠太乙于甘泉, 夜常有神光, 集于祠壇. 通鑑綱目.

When Wu Ti sacrificed to T'ai I (the great one) at the sweet fountain, there was continually at night a divine radiance resting on the altar.

(2). 神光照曜如日月之出. 白虎通.

A divine glory beamed forth, as the rising of the sun or moon.

(3). 車中一神人, 容若冰玉, 手執五明寶扇, 頂負八景圓光, 身六丈餘, 神光照人, 不可正視. 神仙鑑.

In the chariot was a divine person with a face like a transparent jewel. In his hand he held a fan jewelled in five colors, and on his head he carried eight various centers of light, and his stature was over six rods. His divine radiance was so overpowering that one could not look upon it.

(4). 齋戒之暮, 神光顯著, 薦罍之夕, 神光交錯. 前漢.

In the evening, when he fasted, a divine glory appeared, and at night, when he poured libations, it shot forth its beams.

In all ages and nations light and glory have been regarded as the attendant of divine manifestations. Hence men have attributed any extraordinary radiance or glory to the presence or power of a divine being. This idea is clearly seen in the examples quoted.

3. 神劍. A divine sword.

(1). 一劍各長二尺, 背上有銘云神劍, 御除衆毒, 隨四時而變五色. 神仙鑑.

Each sword was two feet long, and upon the back of each was engraved the words "Divine sword." They would ward off all kinds of evil and they changed color with the seasons.

(2). 王捷言於南康, 遇道人姓趙氏, 授以丹術, 及小鐶神劍. 通鑑綱目.

Wang Chie said that in Nan K'ang he met a Taoist priest named Chao, who gave him the method of making the pill of immortality and a divine sword with a small ring (on the handle).

(3). 陸壓所傳曰飛刀, 能誅人神仙怪, 可謂神矣, 但還有形迹, 又用葫蘆盛貯, 似覺費手. 不若漢唐時有劍仙, 更爲神妙, 彼劍仙所煉神劍, 或藏於腦門, 或藏於耳後, 或藏於兩血脉中. 乘之如禦五方之氣, 倏忽千里, 用之意之所至, 無不如之, 其神劍之來, 若電光之影, 其人神仙怪之首, 自然落地, 頃刻化爲烏有, 惟血餘難化, 用寒石水點之, 泯然無迹. 神矣哉此飛刀, 若居其次. 封神演義.

The sword spoken of by Lu Ya is called the flying sword. It will slay man or god, genius or demon, and may be called divine. Yet it still has a material form, and is also kept in a gourd, and it requires some strength to put it in. It is not, however, equal to (the sword of) the Sword Genus who lived in the Han and Tang dynasties, which was still more divinely wonderful. The divine sword which was sublimated by this Sword Genius could be secreted on the top of the head or behind the ear or in the arteries. Trusting to it he

controlled the spirits (breath) of the five quarters and flew over a thousand li in a moment; using it, he went whithersoever he wished to go. When this divine sword came, it was as the lightning flash, and without fail the head, whether of man or god, genius or demon, fell to the ground and in a moment disappeared. The traces of blood, however, were dissolved with difficulty, yet by putting on it a little stalactite droppings they disappeared in a trice. Divine indeed was the flying sword, yet it ranks as second when compared with this one.

The supernatural qualities supposed to attach to the swords here mentioned are evident. It is worthy of note that in the third example a sword is called divine which is expressly stated to have a material form, and it is then compared with one which had not this material form. They are both *shên*, and it is very evident that the use of this term does not turn on the form or no form, but on the supernatural qualities of the sword.

4. 神藥. A divine medicine.

(1). 方士徐市等入海求神藥, 數歲不得. 史記.

The magician Hsü Shï and his company went into the sea to seek a divine medicine, but for several years did not find it.

(2). 欲給以神藥, 令皆得長生可乎. 神仙鑑.

I would like to give you all some divine medicine that all may get immortality—May I?

In both of these examples the "elixir of life" is referred to. Other medicine, however, claimed or supposed to have extraordinary virtue, is frequently called divine medicine. The word 靈 is commonly applied to medicine to denote its efficacy, but it is only when this efficacy rises above human comprehension and touches the supernatural, that it is called *shên* (divine).

The most important of the remaining words of this class are the following:—

神器	*A divine utensil.*	神迹	*A divine trace or mark.* §
神寶	„ „ *treasure*	神箭	„ „ *arrow or shot.*
神火	„ „ *fire.*	神鼎	„ „ *censer.*
神仙	„ „ *genius.*	神符	„ „ *charm.*
神水	„ „ *water.*	神泉	„ „ *fountain.*
神風	„ „ *wind.*	神祠	„ „ *temple.*
神書	„ „ *book.*	神燈	„ „ *lamp.*
神京	„ „ *capital.*	神丘	„ „ *mountain.*
神木	„ „ *wood.*	神位	„ „ *seat or throne.*
神丹	„ „ *pill.**	神珠	„ „ *jewel.*
神像	„ „ *likeness.*†	神霄	„ „ *cloud.*
神芝	„ „ *straw.*‡	神方	„ „ *method or recipe.*

* Used of the elixir of life.
† Said of idols.
‡ Said of the straws used in divination.
§ Miracles.

IV. IDEAS.

1. 神道. Divine doctrine or reason.

(1). 觀天之神道, 而四時不忒, 聖人以神道設教而天下服矣. 易經.

Observing the divine reason of heaven, the four seasons do not err. The sages made the divine doctrine the basis of their teaching and all men obey them.

(2). 神道無迹, 天工罕代. 文選.

Divine reason (the principles of divine operation) *is without traces, and it is hard to find a substitute for the work of heaven.*

(3). 言天道之神, 神者妙不可測之謂. 易經註.

When the reason (or law) of heaven is called divine, the word divine is used in the sense of superlatively excellent and inscrutable.

(4). 協神道, 而大寧.....註曰. 協和神明之道. 而天下大寧.

He (the Emperor) *acts in harmony with the divine doctrine, and all is peace. Commentary says: He harmonizes with the laws of the gods and the whole country is at peace.*

The first example is one of the stock quotations of the Chinese which is met at every turn. When used with reference to nature *tao* means the regular principles or laws which are manifested in the operations of nature. When applied to actions it means the rule of duty. Neither reason, doctrine nor law fully translate it. Being connected with the inscrutable operations of nature and mind, it is called divine. In the third example we have the application of the term *shên* distinctly defined, and defined in complete harmony with the common usage of the word god. In the fourth example, the moral aspect of the word comes into view.

2. 神智. Divine knowledge or wisdom.

1. 王神智遠謀, 使迹轂遍於四海, 凡紀異之物, 不期而自服焉. 穆傳註疏.

The king has god-like knowledge and far reaching plans. The tracks of his chariot compass the four seas. All the wonderful beings known spontaneously submit to him.

2. 當斯之時, 君子議以甘后, 爲神智婦人焉. 拾遺記.

At that time the scholars considered that Queen Kan was a divinely wise woman.

3. 天下何物最善, 可以益人神智, 對曰, 莫若書籍. 通鑑綱目.

What is the very best thing in the world to increase divine wisdom? Answer: There is nothing equal to books.

Mankind have ever been wont to regard a superlative degree of wisdom or knowledge as something divine, as lifting a man above his fellows towards the gods.

3. 神威. Divine majesty.

(1). 他就發起神威. 西遊眞詮.

He began to display his divine majesty.

(2). 全忠陡搜神威, 好似弄風猛虎. 封神演義.

Ch'üen Chung stirred up his divine majesty, like a swift raging tiger.

(3). 似乎帝室之威神. 文選.

Like the divine majesty of the imperial mansion.

(4). 王子成父大逞神威, 殺散速買之兵將. 東周列國全志.

The king's son Ch'eng Fu displayed his god-like majesty and scattered death among the captains of Su Mai.

Man's highest conception of majesty is associated with deity, and hence the majestic appearance of heavenly personages or of military heroes is called divine.

4. 神機. A divine artifice or stratagem.

(1). 孔明無數神機妙算. 三國志.

K'ung Ming had countless divine artifices and admirable plans.

(2). 此其神機密運, 果有大過人者. 通鑑綱目.

Such was his mysterious use of divine artifices; truly they were beyond compare.

(3). 神機陰閉, 刳剭無迹, 人巧之妙也, 而治世不以爲民業. 淮南子.

His divine plans are hidden in obscurity without a trace of their existence. They are the most admirable within the reach of human ingenuity, yet in governing he does not consider them the business of the people.

The artifices and plans spoken of being beyond the wisdom of ordinary men are regarded as partaking of the supernatural, or as proceeding from some divine inspiration, *and hence are called divine.*

5. 神化. Divine transformation.

(1). 神農氏沒, 黃帝堯舜氏作, 通其變, 使民不倦, 神而化之, 使民宜之. 易經大全註.

After the death of Shên Nung, Hwang Te, Yao, and Shun succeeded. They promoted the interchange of commodities, so that the people might not be indolent, and brought about such a divine transformation that every one of the people had his appropriate place.

(2). 自神化以來, 神奇莫與爲例. 拾遺記.

From the time of the divine transformations until the present, divine wonders have not been the rule.

(3). 聖人之學本乎神化性命之妙. 小學纂註.

The learning of the sage has its source in the excellence of divine transformation and of natural law.

(4). 聖人之德, 不可形容, 卽感人而見神化之速. 論語註.

The virtus of the sage cannot be expressed in words; he influences men—and behold the celerity of a divine transformation.

The word 化 is usually rendered *transformation*, but the translation is not adequate. It means a transformation from barbarism to civilization, from depravity to virtue, and is represented as effected by the divine kings of the first ages and by the sages of later times. It implies something supernatural and inscrutable, and hence is continually called divine.

Of the remaining words of this class, the following are the most important:—

神算.	*A divine plan.**	神咒.	*A divine oath or prayer.*
神術.	,, ,, *art.*†	神德.	,, ,, *virtue.*
神第.	,, ,, *stratagem.*	神夢.	,, ,, *dream.*
神武.	,, ,, *prowess.*	神占.	,, ,, *augury*, or lot.
神怪.	,, ,, *prodigy.*	神照.	,, ,, *presage or sign.*
神力.	,, ,, *strength.*	神謀.	,, ,, *scheme.*
神觀.	,, ,, *sight.*		

In addition to its use as an adjective to qualify nouns, *shên* is also used adverbially to qualify adjectives. This usage is essentially the same as the adjective use. In fact the grammatical structure of Chinese is so loose that it is often difficult to say whether a given word should be called an adjective, adverb, verb or noun. The following examples will suffice:—

1. 神異 Divinely wonderful or extraordinary.

(1). 自開闢以來載籍所記, 未有若斯神異者也. 穆傳註疏.

Of all that history has recorded since the beginning of the world there has been nothing so divinely wonderful as this.

(2). 國將興聽於人, 將亡聽於神,. 自古清明之世. 未聞有神異之事, 惟衰亂之世則有之. 通鑑綱目.

When a nation is about to prosper, it is manifested by the people; when it is about to fall, it is manifested by the gods. Since ancient times it has never been known that divinely wonderful things happened in time of peace. In times of anarchy only do such things occur.

(3). 內蓄神異之珍, 衒非世之寶. 拾遺記.

Within were stored pearls divinely wonderful, reported to be treasures not of earth.

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* Or forecast.

† Or contrivance.

(4). 話說紂王見妲己如此神異,撫其背而言曰,御妻眞是神人,何靈異若此. 封神演義.

It is said that when king Chou saw that Tan Chi was so divinely wonderful, he laid his hand on her shoulder and said: "The imperial wife is indeed a divine person. How is it you are such a divine prodigy?"

In all these examples the idea of something supernatural is evident. In most cases the 異 may with equal propriety be regarded as a noun and the phrase rendered "a divine wonder," or, in a free translation, a prodigy. In the last example the phrase 靈異 occurs. The *Ling* in this connection means much more than spiritual. Being correlated with *shên* it borrows its force, and so includes substantially the idea of divinity.

2. 神速. Divinely quick or rapid.

(1). 聖德及人而人化之,聖德動天而天助之,功用神速,至誠不亂也. 書經註.

The virtue of the sage reaches men, and men are transformed; it moves heaven, and heaven assists it. Its operation is divinely rapid, most real, and without confusion.

(2). 言其感應之妙,神速如此. 論語註.

That is, his (the sage's) *marvelous power of influencing men was so divinely rapid as this.*

(3). 此言一箭接一箭,如此其神速也. 莊子註.

That is to say, arrow follows arrow in divinely rapid succession.

(4). 河內皆怪其奏,以爲神速. 史記.

All this side the river were surprised at his memorial, and regarded its execution as divinely quick.

Remarkable or inconceivable rapidity of motion or action is here characterized as divine. It may be said that in this case "spiritually" expresses the idea equally well. This I question, but even conceding that it does, it still remains that "divine" harmonizes better with other analogous uses of *shên*.

3. 神妙. Divinely admirable or excellent.

(1). 聖人畏神妙之理難識,而欲常存之. 史記.

The sage fearing that the divinely excellent truth is hard to comprehend desires to keep it always in his mind.

(2). 夫其本體之通靈如此,其變態之神妙又如此. 性理大全.

Such is the perspicuous intelligence of its (the heart's) *substance and such the divinely admirable character of its transformations.*

(3). 伏見所以行軍用兵之勢,可謂神妙矣. 文選.

Humbly considering that his style of directing armies and managing soldiers may be said to be divinely admirable.

(4). 而心之爲物至虛至靈, 神妙不測. 性理大全.

The heart as an entity is most ethereal and most spiritual, divinely excellent and incomprehensible.

To a Chinese the word 妙 has an ineffable sort of meaning which no other word will express, and when it is desired to add to and exalt it, nothing serves so well as the word divine. The phrase 神妙不測 is a formula in very common use and is applied to whatever transcends human skill and wisdom.

Other words of this class are such as the following :—

神巧.	*Divinely ingenious.*	神秘.	*Divinely mysterious.* ‡
神通.	„ *penetrating.* *	神微.	„ *minute.*
神效.	„ *effective.*	神使.	„ *sent.*
神悟.	„ *intelligent.* †		

Having set forth the various examples contained in the foregoing lists, it remains to consider their bearing on the questions in hand.

If the reader has read with care, he will not fail to observe that the idea of something supernatural—of superhuman power, wisdom, skill, courage, glory, etc.,—runs through them all. Now the meaning of the word *shên* is either god or spirit, and the question is, are these ideas most naturally associated with divinity, or with spirituality? A little consideration will show, I think, that there can be but one verdict. The gods are superhuman in power, wisdom, glory and every excellence. They constitute man's highest ideal of mental, moral and physical perfection. Spirits simply as such may be human, demoniacal or divine; they may be good or bad, powerful or weak, wise or foolish. The word is simply negative in regard to these things. It suggests that which is invisible, ethereal, intangible or unknown, but goes no further.

Divinity, however, while it includes *all these ideas*, goes far beyond them, implying that which is superhuman and superlative in power, knowledge, glory and every excellence. Hence when men wish by ascribing such qualities as these to dignify and compliment in the highest degree, they say *divine*. The general practice of other languages abundantly comfirms this principle. The following examples will serve to prove and illustrate this point. The list is somewhat extended, because the ground to be covered is wide; albeit they are but a few of the many examples I have collated. They are arranged in the same general order as the Chinese quotations above.

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* (Also means divine might or efficacy).

† Or quick-sighted.

‡ Or hidden.

He spake, and the god-like man placed the lambs in the chariot, and, ascending, himself drew back the reins. *Iliad.*

The Spartans, when they praise a good man, say that he is a divine man. *Plato.*

I shall therefore imitate that divine man who has inspired me with such admiration, etc. *Cicero.*

Him, long robed Helen, divine of women, answered, etc. *Iliad.*

Wooing the god-like wife and giving her bridal gifts. *Odyssey.*

A class of persons extremely rare, nay, almost god-like. *Cicero.*

Mourning and grieving for a god-like king. *Odyssey.*

For those yonder are slow conducting hither the heavenly (divine) seer. *Sophocles.*

And counsellor divine he was, for he conducted the trust well. *Aeschylus.*

Spencer, gentlest bard divine! *Coleridge.*

When a conflagation takes place, a supernatural impulse (lit., a divine thing) seizes the eats. *Herodotus.*

Something divine came to me. *Euripides.*

I might call him
A thing divine, for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble. *Shakespeare.*

Hid him in a deep cave, beneath the recesses of the divine earth. *Hesiod.*

Who keeps safe the spacious and divine Mount of Helicon. *Hesiod.*

First of all we draw our ship into the divine sea. *Odyssey.*

She loved the divine river Enepus which flows far the fairest of rivers upon the earth. *Odyssey.*

The Delphic woman is sitting on the divine tripod. *Euripides.*

They were strewn together, but he was lifted up in the divine air. *Odyssey.*

An ampler ether, a diviner air. *Wordsworth.*

But Catawba wine.
Has a taste more divine. *Longfellow.*
Led them into the divine house. *Odyssey.*
Then indeed the divine mist was again dispersed. *Odyssey.*
A sweet odor wafted from the cup divine. *Odyssey.*
And cloud compelling Jove stirred up a north wind against our ships, with a divine whirlwind. *Odyssey.*
Is ebony like her—O wood divine! *Shakespeare.*
Divine Salve. A sovereign application for abscesses, boils, old sores, etc. *Newspaper Advertisement.*
Oh how divine.
The flame that glows in her eternal shrine. *Street.*
So shall I bask in light divine. *Poetry of America.*
As it arose in the divine intellect of Epicurus. *Lucretius.*
Cool water which wooded Aetna sends forth for me. A divine drink. *Theocritus.*
Salute them (bow and arrows)with a kiss, as divine. *Sophocles.*
Then he finds the divine plant of China. *Schiller.*
He spake of plants divine and strange,
That every hour their blossoms change,
Ten thousand lovely hues. *Wordsworth.*
Let us straightway put the chattels in the recess of the divine cave. *Odyssey.*
Therefore as that divine mind or reason is the supreme law, so it exists in the mind of the sage, so far as it can be perfected in man. *Cicero.*
The soul has communion with divine virtue and becomes divine. *Plato.*
What age can possibly destroy a divine virtue, and what virtue can be so divine as an exhalation of the earth which has the power of inspiring the mind? *Cicero.*
By what divine wisdom then could Romulus embrace all the benefits, etc. *Cicero.*
How charming is divine philosophy. *Milton (Comus).*
Their art is lofty and divine. *Plato.*
Aristotle. a man of singular and almost divine genius. *Cicero.*
A divine dream has come to me in my sleep. *Odyssey.*
In all such qualities excel, in which there is a divine inspiration. *Plato.*
A fact which strikes me as magnificent and almost divine. *Cicero.*

A presentiment enclosed in the soul by divine operation. *Cicero.*

The occurrence was extraordinary (divine). *Herodotus.*

But of divine effect, to open eyes and make them gods who taste. *Milton.*

Every one was struck with astonishment and dismay at these divine presages. *Apulicus.*

A sight truly wonderful and divine. *Apulicus.*

He (Socrates) frequently declared that not a voice, but a divine sign, had been presented to him. *Apulicus.*

They perform by their divine changes, movements most orderly and eternal. *Apulicus.*

The vision and the faculty divine. *Wordsworth.*

By a divine instinct, men's minds mistrust ensuing danger. *Shakespeare.*

Divinely bent to meditation. *Shakespeare.*

The larger part of these examples are from Latin and Greek authors. Christian monotheism has exalted the word "divine," and so in a measure restricted the range of its use. I have not been able to make a search in Hindoo or Sanscrit books, but I have no doubt that similar examples will be found there. Particular comment on the passages quoted is unnecessary. Many of them are almost precisely parallel with the Chinese examples. In the case of others the words and usage are *similar* to the Chinese. The circumstances and genius of each language will, of course, give rise to some peculiarities not met with in the others. The analogy which these examples afford would seem to be perfectly conclusive as to the meaning which must be given to the word *shên*. Let any one attempt to make a collection of instances of the word *spiritual* used to express these ideas of superlative power, wisdom, glory, and excellence, and he will presently see the impossibility of the task. *The word spirit is not so used in any language.*

In the Chinese examples quoted above I have translated *shên* by *divine*. I did this in order to bring out in English the precise range of its use. It would doubtless be more idiomatic English to translate in some cases by such words as supernatural, marvelous, miraculous, superhuman, inscrutable, etc. These, however, are derivative and metaphorical meanings. The question is, how came the word *shên* to be used in such senses? What primitive sense gives force and propriety to such derivative senses? Clearly it is

divinity and not spirituality.* In order to illustrate this I noted in an English translation of Herodotus and Homer the rendering of the words *theos* and *pneuma*. I found *theos* rendered superhuman, extraordinary, miraculous, supernatural, mighty, noble, and prodigious. This was in Bohn's literal translation. If I had had a free translation, I should doubtless have found such renderings much more numerous. In not a single case was *pneuma* rendered by these or any similar word. I had a Delphin edition of the Odyssey, and I noted that the Latin rendered *theos* by praestantissimus, nobilis, magnus, gravis, pius, immensus, and some of these renderings were very frequent. What could be more conclusive as to the primitive from which these ideas naturally flow.

It is no valid objection to the argument that it is indirect. The derivatives of a word often shed important light on the primary. We get in this way a sort of retrospective view of the word, and see it from a standpoint which the literal sense does not afford. The fountain gives character to the streams, and the streams in turn are proof of what the fountain is. The *shadow* of the earth on the moon proves it to be round. This indirect view of the word shows us how fallacious is the idea of those who regard *shên* as characterizing Chinese objects of worship simply as *spirits* and not as *gods*. The divinity of the word *shên* is not an adventitious circumstance, but the essential and inherent sense. A mere accidental usage could never give such a predominant character to the derivatives.

The adjective form of the word for god is indispensable in all cultivated languages. It fills a place in human speech which no other word will fill. What a loss it would be to spare our word "divine" (equivalent to god-like) from the English language, and what a still greater loss it would be to the Greek to cast out the corresponding words derived from *theos*. If, however, *shên* is not so used in Chinese, then what word is so used? We turn naturally to the word which we are told by many means god, viz, 帝 Ti. Can such phrases as a *ti* man or a *ti* woman or a *ti* soldier be found? Is there a single beast or natural object described as *ti*? Is there a single idea or principle that is characterized as divine by the use of the word *ti*? The truth is *ti* is not so used and will not bear such a construction. Is it true, then, that the Chinese language

*Dr. Medhurst, in his translation of the article on Shên in the P'ei Wên Yuen Fu, has translated by supernatural, mysterious, wonderful, marvelous and inscrutable. *Spiritual* would not approximate the sense and *divine* could not be conceded. Such translations are, however, an evasion of the real issue.

has no means of expressing the qualifying idea of *divine?* It is not credible. The history of the Chinese language, its abundant literature, embracing history, mythology, poetry, philosophy, and religion, utterly forbid such a hypothesis. We are, therefore, shut up to the conclusion that *shên*, when used as an adjective, means *divine;* and therefore that its proper and primitive sense is *divinity*.

Particles of Comparison Joined with Shên.

PARTICLES of comparison are joined with shên, and in such constructions its force is clearly that of divinity, not that of spirituality. The meaning of *shên* when comparative particles are joined with it, is not essentially different from its ordinary meaning as a qualifier. Inasmuch, however, as its use as a qualifier is very extensive, and also because these comparative particles carry the meaning to a higher point of development, I have thought it worth while to give this class of expressions a separate treatment. The comparative particle most frequently used is 至 "utmost," "supreme," though 甚 "exceedingly" and 最 "very" and 更 "more" are occasionally met with.

1. 天雖至神, 自古及今, 未聞下穀與人也. 孔叢子.

Although heaven is most divine, yet from ancient times to the present it has not been heard that it rained grain on men.

2. 夫天地至神, 而有尊卑先後之序, 而況人道乎. 莊子.

Heaven and earth are superlatively divine; yet each has its place in dignity and time; how much more should it be so in human society?

3. 或問予天, 予對曰, 理陰陽五行化生萬類, 其用至神. 性理大全.

If asked of heaven I would answer, "It regulates the dual powers and the five elements and envelops the cosmos. Its operation is most divine."

4. 上天甚神, 無自瘵也. 詩經.

Heaven is very divine; let no one deceive himself.

5. 莫神於天, 莫富於地, 莫大於帝王. 莊子.

There is nothing so divine as heaven, so rich as earth, so great as princes.

In these five examples heaven is said to be most divine. It is well known that in China heaven is preëminently the synonym for god, and represents the highest idea the Chinese have of divinity. What could be more in harmony with this fact than to call heaven most divine? On the other hand, heaven is in no sense a synonym or emblem of spirit, and to call heaven most spiritual would be a manifest misuse of language. The favorite phrase 至神 is more frequently applied to heaven than to any other object.

6. 夫其見至廣，其聞至遠，其論至高，其樂至大，能爲至廣，至遠至高至大之事，而中無一爲焉，豈不謂至神至聖者乎，非唯吾謂之至神至聖者乎，而天下謂之至神至聖者乎. 皇極經書.

His (the reigning sage) observation was most extensive, his learning most far-reaching, his reasoning most profound, and his joys greatest. Without any apparent effort he can accomplish that which is most extensive, far-reaching, profound, and great. Should he not be called most divine, most holy? Not only do I call him most divine and most holy, but the whole world echoes the same sentiment.

7. 其感應至神，而不可測也. 孟子註.

His (the reigning sage) *transforming power is most divine and cannot be fathomed.*

8. 此是聖人至公至神之化，心無私主，如天地一般. 性理大全.

This is the most righteous and most divine teaching of the sage. His mind, like that of heaven and earth, is free from all selfishness.

It is no exaggeration to say that in China sages have been more admired and venerated than in any other land—yea more, they have been worshipped as gods. Chinese writers exhaust every resource of language and rhetoric in glorifying the sages. Is it any wonder they call the sages and their teachings *most divine?* Cicero calls Plato "a divine man." Lucretius says of Epicurus: "He was a god—a god I say," and Diogenes Laertius says of wise men: "They are divine, for they have in them something which is as it were a god." To call a sage most spiritual would convey no intelligible sense. Such language cannot be found in any Greek or Latin author, nor, I venture to assert, in any other heathen book.

9. 晝夜卽幽明死生鬼之謂，如此然後可見至神之妙，无有方所，易之變化，无有形體也. 易經註.

Day and night are to be taken as including darkness and light, death and life, demons and gods. He who apprehends this will understand how it is that the mystery of the highest divinity is without definite locality and the transformations of evolution without physical form.

10. 其本原自無而生有，其功行自有而歸無，有無之間其機甚神. 王龍神.

In its origin (truth) is uncreated, yet it creates, in its operation it effects results, yet reverts to nonentity. The secret spring that separates being from non-being is exceedingly divine.

11. 易无思也，无爲也，寂然不動，感而遂通天下之故，非天下之至神，其孰能與於此. 易經.

Evolution is without cogitation and without effort, silent and motionless, yet when acted upon, it forthwith penetrates all the agencies in the world. If it were not the most divine thing in the world, how could it accomplish all this?

Chinese philosophy is evolutionary and pantheistic. The mysterious processes of nature are the constant theme of elaborate explanation and admiring praise. That they should be called *most divine* is in perfect accord with the practice of pantheistic philosophers in all ages and nations. In the eleventh example, evolution is referred to its primal cause, which is called the highest divinity. If a pantheistic philosopher had at his command a word meaning god, it would be strange indeed if he did not use it in such a connection as this.

12. 太極, 只是極至更無去處了, 至高至妙, 至精至神, 是沒去處. 朱子全書.

The great extreme is simply the utmost end beyond which it is impossible to go. It is the most lofty, most admirable, most refined, and most divine, beyond which there can be no further goal.

This example is a formal definition of the great extreme, i.e., primeval elementary matter. Having exhausted other descriptive words, the climax is reached by calling it most *divine*. What a rhetorical inversion it would be to crown such a climax with *most spiritual!*

13. 子路人告之以有過則喜, 喜者由中達外, 一毫無所矯飾, 喜其得聞而改之也, 感應之機甚神, 機動於此, 誠動於彼. 王龍谿.

Tsï Lu was pleased when anyone told him of a fault. His pleasure was manifest and free from the least affectation. He rejoiced that having learned his fault he could correct it—a moral sensitiveness that was altogether divine. The occasion produced the effect with unfailing certainty.

14. 天下人心最神. 管子註.

The human heart is the divinest thing in the world.

15. 夫天道至察不可欺, 徒自欺耳, 人心至神不可忘, 徒自妄耳. 王龍谿全集.

The way of heaven is exceedingly searching and cannot be deceived; to attempt to deceive it is to deceive oneself. The human heart is most divine and cannot be cheated; to try to cheat it is to cheat oneself.

16. 氣化之所在, 卽神理之所在也, 氣無昭昭靈靈之神, 而有杳杳冥冥之神, 不神之理乃爲至神, 至神之神乃爲至眞, 世人言及此神, 茫然不識. 西遊眞詮.

Wherever transformations take place in nature (or matter), there divine law is present. Nature is not conspicuously divine, but only obscurely so. This law, which does not seem divine, is in fact the most divine. This divinity, which is the most divine, is in reality the truest. When men speak of this divinity, they are confused, and do not recognize it (or him).

The Chinese, in common with all pantheists, deify the human soul; hence that they should call it *very divine* or *most divine* is quite natural. Both Cicero and Plato are profuse in their application of the term divine to the soul. In the fifteenth example a moral nature or conscience is attributed to the soul, and for this good reason it is called divine. To call the soul *most spiritual* might express its intellectual nature or its constitution as compared with the body, but not at all its higher and especially its moral qualities. To do this the word *divine* is essential. In the sixteenth example the divinity immanent in the material universe here spoken of as air (ch'i), is contrasted with the more conspicuous exhibition of divinity seen in men and beasts and pronounced to be after all the most truly and really divine, evidently because of the tremendous sweep of its inscrutable operations. Because men do not see this divinity, they do not understand or recognize it (or him). This passage, save for its pantheistic basis, clearly uses the term *shên* by way of eminence.

17. 龜至神若此, 然太卜官得生龜, 何爲輒殺取其甲乎. 史記.

If the tortoise be so extremely divine as this, how is it that when the master of divination gets a live one, he forthwith kills it to get its shell.

18. 聖人不因天下之至神, 則無所施其教, 卜筮者天下之至神也. 唐宋八家.

If it were not for this most divine thing in the world, the sage would have nothing by which to set forth his doctrine. The most divine thing in the world is the art of divination.

Divination is essentially an appeal to the providence of the gods, and in heathen lands such oracles have always been regarded with the utmost reverence and admiration. This fact is the sufficient ground for calling the art and its *instruments divine*.

19. 至哉易乎, 其道至大而無不包, 其用至神而无不存. 易經序.

Perfect is the Book of Changes! Its truths are the most comprehensive; there is nothing which it does not include. Its uses are most divine; there is nothing which it does not contain.

Taking their cue from Confucius, Chinese writers never fail to eulogize the Book of Changes in the most extravagant terms. Its enigmatical utterances have an air of profound wisdom, and lend themselves readily to every religious sect, every philosophical theory, every magic art. It is not strange they should call it divine.

20. 舉措動靜,莫能識也,若雷之擊,不可爲備,所用不復,故勝可百全,與玄明通,莫知其門,是謂至神. 淮南子.

His strategy was incomprehensible. He was like a thunderbolt, the place of whose strikings it is impossible to anticipate. He never repeated himself and was always victorious. His discernment was profound and his methods past comprehension. He may be called superlatively divine.

21. 今會頭陣如此英勇,鎗法更神. 封神演義.

Having now met him in this first tilt, he realized his prowess, that his skill with the spear was more divine (than his own).

If there be one thing more than another which all men have agreed to call divine, it is martial prowess. Poets and orators of every age and nation have glorified their heroes by calling them divine.

22. 龍啣火精,氣爲寒暑,眼作昏明,身長千里,可謂至神. 山海經.

There was a dragon which carried in his mouth the essence of fire. His breath made cold and heat, his winking made darkness and light, his body was a thousand li long. He may be called superlatively divine.

23. 河上姹女,靈而最神,得火則飛,不見埃塵,鬼隱龍匿,莫知所存. 叅同契.

The naiad was powerful and exceedingly divine. If she met fire she flew aloft far above the dusty earth, vanishing like a ghost and disappearing like a dragon, so that where she was no one knew.

Two supernatural beings are here called divine, and their divinity magnified. The point is not simply that they were invisible or spiritual, but that they manifested supernatural and marvelous powers and qualities, in view of which they are called divine.

24.

Wishing to desist, he is unable; wishing to follow, he finds it impossible. What but the divinest thing in all the world would justify such language as this?

That which is here referred to is the path or doctrine of the sage. To call it most spiritual would no doubt give a tolerable sense, but to call it most divine makes a far better sense and gives greater force to the eulogistic idea of the writer.

The above examples will be found to include nearly all the ideas and objects in connection with which *shên* is used with intensive particles. It has already been sufficiently shown, I think, that the idea thus intensified is that of divinity rather than that of spirituality. It will add to the force of the argument to give a few examples from other languages showing that the same forms of expression are those used in reference to substantially the same subjects.

1. It (the sky) is brighter than formerly and more divine. *Euripides.*

2. Divinest object (the sun) which the uplifted eye of mortal man is suffered to behold. *Wordsworth.*

3. They (the parts of the universe) are placed in a state of most divine motion. *Diogenes Saertius.*

4. Only the most divine things of all are unchangeable. *Plato.* 3–554.

5. The soul on the approach of death becomes much more divine. *Cicero.*

6. Of all things which a man has, next to the gods, his soul is the most divine and most truly his own. *Plato.*

7. He is most foully and disgracefully abusing his soul, which is the divinest part of man. *Plato.*

8. It is in sleep that the soul of man appears most divine. *Xenophon.*

9. The halls of art of both hemispheres resound with its divinest melodies. *J. G. Holland.*

10. Ideas are too divine to derive any authority from the persons who hold them. *Henry James.*

11. The meaning of his (Socrates) words is most divine. *Plato.*

12. Thou season (summer) most divine. *Pike.*

13. The most divine of gifts are birds and images. *Plato.*

14. Hail the goddess sage and holy,
Hail divinest melancholy. *Milton.*

It would be very difficult, I imagine, not to say impossible, to find "most spiritual" used in any language of a similar class of ideas and objects.

Shên Used as Exclamation.

Shên is used in the form of exclamation, and when so used its sense is clearly divinity, rather than spirituality. When transcendent power, skill, wisdom, virtue, beauty or excellence of any kind calls forth exclamations of admiration or surprise, the term divine has ever been a favorite one. It carries the idea to a climax which no other word can attain. The suppleness of the Chinese language, and its easy use of exclamatory particles, makes this use more natural in Chinese than in most languages.

The following examples will serve for illustrations :—

1. 神哉水中之金乎. 悟眞篇.

How divine is the gold dissolved in the water!

2. 陣法至此, 神乎神乎. 外史.

An order of battle like this—Divine! Divine!

3. 死的去, 活的住, 神哉神哉, 生死的機關, 盡在手中. 西遊眞詮.

Those who were to die, died; and those who were to live, lived. Divine! Divine! The key of life and death was completely in her power.

4. 此可謂知之深而言之盡矣. 神哉妙哉. 西遊眞詮.

It might be characterized as profound in wisdom and perfect in expression. Divine! Divine!

5. 囂大驚曰, 何其神也. 通鑑綱目.

Hsiao exclaimed with great astonishment—How Divine!

6. 微乎微乎, 至於無形, 神乎神乎, 至於無聲. 孫武子.

Inscrutable! Inscrutable to the point of being invisible, Divine! Divine to the point of being inaudible.

7. 則是後世之所以爲教者, 皆自穆王而開, 不亦奇乎, 不亦神乎. 穆傳註疎.

Thus all the teaching of after ages takes its rise from Mu Wang. Is not this wonderful? Is it not divine?

8. 歎曰卜筮之理. 何其神也. 東周列國全志.

He sighed, saying: "The principles of divination, how divine they are!"

9. 觀之于天, 氣化默運, 道何其神也. 易經註.

Looking up to heaven we see the transformation of all things silently evolving. How divine is the process!

10. 暑來寒往,地久天長,神哉華觀,永配無疆. 文選.

Heat comes, cold goes, earth continues, heaven endures. How divine the resplendent view! The succession is world without end.

11. 國濟於舟者和於水矣, 義於人者詳其神矣. 管子.

When one crosses a river in a boat, how it is adapted to the water; when a man is just to his fellows, how divine is the blessing!

12. 借人之殺以爲生, 仙人之術何神哉. 聊齊志異.

To borrow the hand of another in killing an enemy, and so save yourself; this matches the art of one of the genii. How divine it is!

13. 莊宗之善料, 公之善出奇, 何其神哉. 唐宋八家.

Chwang Tsung's foresight and the duke's wondrous skill. How divine they were!

14. 趙公駭然曰, 公智策何神也. 王龍谿全.

The duke of Chou was astonished, and exclaimed, "The wisdom and strategy of the duke; how divine they are!"

15. 萬物施張渾爾. 而就, 亦無所不備焉, 神矣妙矣, 精矣微矣. 列仙傳.

Nature spreads out its expanse, vast, yet embracing each and all, complete in all its parts. Divine! Admirable! Subtle! Inscrutable!

16. 人心其神矣乎, 操則存, 捨則亡.

How divine is the human mind! Restrain it and it is preserved, give rein to it and it is lost.

It needs no argument to show that in these examples *shên* should be rendered divine. They speak for themselves. Let spiritual or spirit-like be inserted instead, and it will at once appear how unsuitable it is to the connection, and how wide of the sense. Take for instance the second sentence. How meaningless it would be to say of an admirable order of battle that it was spiritual. Again in the third example as an expression of astonishment at the marvellous power and foresight of this woman, how pointless would be the exclamation, Spiritual! Spiritual! There is scarcely an example in the list in which the word under discussion will, even by constraint, bear to be rendered spiritual, and if in one or two cases it be held admissible it is still true that divine expresses the idea of the writer more clearly and forcibly. Thus in the first example the point of admiration is the (supposed) life-giving power of the metal held in solution by the alchemist's art. This *might* be characterized as spiritual, but as an exclamation of admiration it would be more natural and vastly more expressive to use the word *divine*.

It would be possible no doubt in some of these examples to approximate the sense by translating wonderful, admirable, marvellous, etc., but this would simply be evading the point at issue, for the question would still recur, how does a word which confessedly means primarily either god or spirit come to have such meanings as these.* From which primitive sense do such derivatives come? That they come from the idea of divinity rather than from that of spirituality is evident enough, even to the most superficial thinker. Where, for example, in the translations of Greek literature can the word *pneuma* be found rendered by such terms as mysterious, marvellous, wonderful, inscrutable, etc., whereas the term *theos* in its several forms is frequently so translated.

Other languages have used forms of expression quite similar to the Chinese, though not, as already intimated, with as much freedom as the Chinese use. The greater exaltation of the word god in the West has made its use more sparing. The form also is different, especially in Greek, where sundry adjectives are compounded with the word *theos* and used instead of the simple word divine. The following extracts will serve for illustration:—

1. How great is eloquence. How divine that mistress of the universe? *Cicero.*

2. Oh most divine poet! *Plato.*

3. Cold water which wooded Aetna sends forth for me—a divine drink! *Theocritus.*

4. Oh books of Aristophanes,—the labor of a god!
Greek Anthology.

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* It has been the custom of some writers on this question to translate the word *shén* by a variety of derivative and cognate words rather than to adhere to the primitive ideas on which the question turns. This is notably the case with Dr. Medhurst in his numerous writings on this general subject. It is worthy of notice that this was not his custom before the controversy arose. In 1846 he published his translation of the Shu King, in which in twenty-five examples of *shén* he translated gods fifteen times, divine or divinity six times, divinityship once and spirit three times, explaining, however, in his notes on these three instances that *shén* includes the idea of divinity. The next year (after the controversy had begun) he published his "Theology of the Chinese," which was followed subsequently by sundry other books and tracts on the same subject. In none of these does he in any case translated *shén* by gods or divine but resorts to such terms as apparition, demon, fairy, gnome, genius, ghost, images in the temples, lares, manes, shades, spectres, sprites, those to whom it is customary to offer sacrifices, energies of the masculine and feminine principles of nature, expanders, celestial expanders, expanding principle of nature, invisible beings, inscrutable ones, essential part, essence, etherial spirit, inscrutable intelligence, marvellous, mysterious, unfathomable, recondite, wonderful, spirit or something nearly allied thereto, mind, soul, soul and finer spirit, spiritual influence, spiritual beings, expanding spirit, animal spirits, animation, vivacity, etc., etc. Such translations are for the most part quite beside the mark. They do not really touch the question at issue. They simply avoid it.

5. Holy, divine, good, amiable, sweet! How art thou lost.

6. Oh most divine Kate! *Shakespeare.*

7. How divine the liberty for mortal man to roam at large among unpeopled glens, etc. *Wordsworth.*

8. Oh high example! constancy divine! *Wordsworth.*

9. Oh how divine the flame that glows in her eternal shrine, *Street.*

When such things as courage, skill, wisdom, mystery, power, beauty, genius, etc., are seen in their highest forms and call forth expressions of wonder and admiration, it is not the word *spiritual* that springs to human lips but the word *divine*.

This series of articles on the meaning of the word *shên* must end here for the present, not because the subject is exhausted, but because the author is leaving China for a short furlough in the home land. If time and opportunity are afforded after his return it is proposed to carry the subject forward to a conclusion and then to print the whole in a book.* The points that remain to be treated are:

1. *Shên* used as a verb meaning to deify or to regard as divine. About seventy examples of this kind have been collected.

2. The various definitions which native Chinese writers have given of the word *shên*. Of these some eighty have been collected which view the word from every conceivable standpoint.

3. The different kinds and classes of *shên* found spoken of in Chinese books, such as 天 神, god of heaven; 火 神, god of fire; 雷 神 god of thunder, etc., etc. Of such gods over one hundred and fifty have been noted, covering nearly all the parts and powers of nature. This head should of right have been exhibited under the first general division of the subject, but was passed over for want of space.

4. *Shên* used eminently. Several instances of such usage have already turned up incidentally, and attention has been called to them. Besides these a considerable number have been met with which are worthy of special note. This usage is important as supplying what has been held by some to be essential in order to prove that *shên* can or should be used for the true God.

5. The relationship of *shên* and 鬼, which from their constant correlation forms an important subject.

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* Other work, notably Bible Revision, claimed the author till the time of his death, and he was never able to carry out this desire.

6. The relationship of *shên* and 帝. A number of well known passages, together with the fact that this is the chief rival term, give to this subject special importance.

7. The connection of the words *shên* and 靈. This being the alternate word for spirit, the relationship of the two words demands consideration.

These points, together with a brief *résumé* of the whole subject, will conclude the original plan of the discussion.

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